

Quarterly of the California Historical Society

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Quarterly of the California Historical Society

SPANISH VOYAGES TO THE NORTHWEST COAST IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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CHAPTER XI

FATHER ANTONIO DE LA ASCENSION'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO*

An account of the expedition for the discovery of the Californias which *General* Sebastian Vizcaino carried into effect in the year 1602 by order of His Excellency the Señor Conde de Monterey, the viceroy of New Spain, written by the reverend father, Fray Antonio de la Ascension of the Barefoot Order of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, one of the three friars who went on the journey.

CHAPTER I AND PROLOGUE, *in which is treated the purpose His Majesty may have had in ordering this discovery to be made.*

That famous saying of Valerius Maximus that each thing to be done well has to have and keep its method is very celebrated among all savants. Method I call the conformity to be observed between what is to be done, the reason and purpose of it, and the power employed therein. This is what Horace extolled, saying, "Secure is that power which employs its force with method," that is to say, undertake nothing except what you can accomplish. In order that all may know the authority which His Majesty our king, Philip III, has to order this discovery to be made, it will be advisable to refer here to a conclusion which the bishop of Chiapa, Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, draws in his *Tratado Conprobatorio del ynperio soberano y principado universal que los Reyes de Castilla y Leon tienen sobre las Indias*,¹ in which he states: "the kings of Castile and Leon have a very just title to the supreme, universal or high empire of all that part of the globe we call Oceanas Indias, and are justly the princes, sovereign, supreme and universal lords and emperors over the native kings and lords of those by virtue of the authority, grant and gift not simple and mere, but according to due form, *ydest obinter possitan caussam*² which the Holy Apostolic See of Alexander VI sanctioned and gave in the year 1493 to the Catholic monarchs Don Fernando and Doña Isabel. This and no other is the juridical and substantial foundation on which is predicated all their title." In virtue of this over-lordship our king, Philip III, as a true son of such a most

* A description and brief history of Father Antonio's manuscript are to be found on p. 269 of the September, 1928, *Quarterly*, under item A. The thirty-three charts reproduced herein are discussed under item M, pp. 273-74 of the same issue of this *Quarterly*.

Christian and wise father, Philip II, and grandson of such holy forefathers, and having the same zeal as they for the good of the souls under his charge, always endeavors by all ways and means possible to advance and amplify his empire and Christianity over all this new western world.

Having at his charge this new world and the other kingdoms which his father left him, he found among his father's secret papers a sworn declaration that some foreigners had given him in which it is stated that they had seen and discovered some notable things, on passing through the Strait of Anian, where they were driven in a ship by the great force of continual winds from the coast of the Bacallaos in what we call "Tierra Nova." In this they relate how they passed from the North Sea to the South Sea by this strait, and that, while searching for shelter from the storm, they entered a copious river, on which they came in sight of a populous and rich city named Quivira,³ well filled with civilized, courteous and very literate people wearing clothes, and well fortified and surrounded by a wall. It was in the latitude of 40°, almost on the same parallel and in the same neighborhood as Cabo Mendocino, which the ships come to sight in sailing from the Philippines to New Spain. Other particularities were contained in this declaration worth finding out and even investigating. All this moved His Majesty to make every effort to find out about such a famous city and discover its situation.⁴

Besides this, the president and the *oidores* of the Royal Council of the Indies advised His Majesty that the ships sailing from the Philippines to New Spain encounter great storms before they come in sight of Cabo Mendocino and in that latitude, and that inasmuch as that country was not explored and the ports on that coast are not known, the ships ran a great risk and were obliged to return to Japan, where the *San Felipe* was wrecked in 1596. Great riches belonging to His Majesty and to private persons were lost in this, although out of the wreck followed the martyrdom of the saints of Japan, whom Taicoçama, the emperor of Japan, put to death at that time.⁵ Other ships had also encountered great storms on other occasions. In order to avoid such losses it was thought advisable to explore all the seacoast from there to the Puerto de Acapulco so that once the ports situated on it were found, the ships navigating along it might find relief and shelter.

His Majesty was also advised that there was information that the Kingdom of California, that is, the land from the Cabo de San Lucas called "La Punta de la California" to Cabo Mendocino, was a long country well inhabited by Indians and other nations, and contained great riches in pearls, silver, gold and amber, and that the Marqués del Valle, Don Fernando Cortés, after having conquered Mexico and its provinces, had gone to the Californias in the year 1535 with the intention of conquering and pacifying that country for the purpose of enjoying its reputed riches. As he had news that Don Antonio de Mendoza had come to New Spain as viceroy, and in order to settle the matter of his status,⁶ he had returned to Mexico with his force without accomplishing anything, his preparations for the conquest having cost him a great amount of

money. The Viceroy afterwards endeavored to accomplish the same thing at his own expense, and placed his plan in operation, but it did not have the desired effect, because of the great difficulty of sailing along that coast on which the northwest winds are continuously contrary. Those who went therefore returned to New Spain with their ships broken and with great loss, without having settled any matter of importance.⁷

For these and other fitting reasons His Majesty ordered the Conde de Monterey, Don Gaspar de Zuñiga y Azevedo, viceroy at that time of New Spain, to have this exploration from the Puerto de Acapulco to Cabo Mendocino made with all care and diligence at the expense of the royal treasury, and to have all the ports, bays, islands, and rivers found on that coast examined and full note taken of what there was in the country.

CHAPTER II, *in which is treated how and in what order the Conde de Monterey made the necessary dispositions for this voyage.*

That great and most eloquent orator Cicero, in his book *Del Perfecto Orador*, says "*In rebus magnis memoria que dignis consilia primum deinde acta postea eventus spectantur*," which turned into our common language is "seasoned and prudent counsel is advisable in the execution of great affairs and business deserving of eternal memory, first to see if the affair should be undertaken, then to see how it can be done opportunely, and thirdly and lastly, to provide what is necessary to prevent failure." This maxim the Viceroy followed to the letter, and desirous of doing properly what His Majesty had ordered with such earnestness, as a wise and discreet man, he conferred about it not only once but many times with persons of experience and discretion, who His Excellency was confident would tell him what was most advisable to be done to carry it out in the best manner and to best serve the King, our master.

The Viceroy having decided what was to be done, in what manner and in what season, and with what ships and what number of men the voyage should be made, ordered everything to be prepared with the greatest care and diligence. He at once appointed *General* Sebastian Vizcaino as *general*⁸ and commander for the voyage and Captain Toribio Gomez de Corbán as *almirante*,⁹ persons of experience and worthy of even greater positions and dignities by reason of the good service they had rendered His Majesty on other occasions. He did not expect less of them on this, as *General* Sebastian Vizcaino was the person under whose charge lay the pacification and conquest of the Kingdom of California, having spent the greater part of his property and that of his outfitters in the voyage he had made in 1596 to that kingdom to conquer and pacify it for His Majesty. He had come back on account of troubles and unfortunate occurrences without having accomplished anything of importance. He was therefore the person who knew most about that coast, and besides, was acquainted with those seas, as he had gone to the Philippines and returned from them before undertaking that expedition. As he was so much interested in seeing that the exploration be thoroughly performed, he received this appointment.

Captain Toribio Gomez de Corbán was given the position of *almirante*

because in sea affairs he was very well versed and expert, having served His Majesty many years on the coasts of Spain and France in the cruisers of the Navy and had come with an express order from the King to be employed in this expedition. The Viceroy was compliant, and as soon as he had appointed him, gave him instructions to go and fetch the ships which seemed necessary to make the journey, and which it was understood he would find in Realejo on the coast of the South Sea in the jurisdiction of Panama, assigning Ensign Sebastian Melendez and Pilot Antonio Flores as his companions to assist him in bringing the ships to the Puerto de Acapulco. The Viceroy also sent an order to the royal officials in the Puerto de Acapulco to have a *fragata*¹⁰ and a longboat constructed, and to make other dispositions needful for the voyage. He sent Ensign Juan de Azevedo Texeda, a very careful and vigilant man, to see that these orders were carried out and to assist in what was committed to his care. This done, his Excellency ordered *General* Sebastian Vizcaino to set down what was necessary for the voyage — seamen, soldiers, supplies of food, tackle, arms, ammunition and tools — all of which the *General* did, as a man who already knew what might be needed, asking for everything which seemed essential for such a difficult and painful voyage as the one to be undertaken, as it was considered that at least a year would be required to make it.

In order that this fleet should not go without ecclesiastics to administer the sacraments to those who accompanied it, the Viceroy determined that three religious persons, priests, preachers and confessors of the Barefoot Order of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, should go, inasmuch as His Majesty himself had so ordered by a royal order which the friars of the Order presented to him. These had come to New Spain at the expense of His Majesty for the conversion of the Indians of New Mexico, when the Marqués de Villamanrique came out as viceroy.¹¹ Other friars had afterwards come to the Indies from Spain on other occasions for the same purpose. In 1597 fifteen others had come to go to the conversion of New Mexico, but when they reached Mexico twelve friars of the Order of San Francisco were already with the governor, Don Juan de Oñate, and in his army which was on its way to conquer those provinces. This prevented the going of the newly arrived friars from Spain to these conversions, the Viceroy promising to send them on the first conquest which might offer.¹² As this now occurred with the proposed discovery of the coast of California, the Viceroy in the name of the King asked the provincial of the Barefoot Carmelites, Fray Pedro de los Apóstoles, to give him three friars, priests and confessors, to accompany the expedition, and to take possession of that Kingdom of California, in order to undertake their conversion at once. The Provincial communicated this to his *difinadores*.¹³ All agreed to it and appointed Father Fray Andrés de la Asumpcion,¹⁴ who was a *difinador* of the province and prior-elect of the convent of Salaya; Father Fray Antonio de la Ascension, who had accompanied him from Spain, chosen for that purpose; and Father Fray Tomás de Aquino, all religious persons of great virtue, of very exemplary life and of good letters. For what might arise, they named as superior, Father Andrés, and in default of

him, Father Antonio, and in default of both, Father Tomás. In order that the laity should have them as their superiors in spiritual matters, the Inquisitors of Mexico gave them a substitute of authority for such cases as might occur, and the Archbishop of Mexico on his part gave them full authority to act as his deputies and the parish priests of the Spaniards who were going on the expedition. The Viceroy ordered everything needful to be given to them in the way of vestments, ornaments and books, and this was done.

That nothing necessary or important for this voyage should be lacking and that it should have a happy result, he appointed prudent and discreet men of great experience in matters of sea, land and war as companions and counsellors of the *General* for matters of difficulty or doubt which might arise, whom the *General* should call together and consult in such cases, conforming to the opinion of the majority. Those appointed were the *almirante*, Toribio Gomez de Corbán; Captains Alonso Esteban Peguero¹⁵ and Pascual de Alarcon,¹⁶ old soldiers of Flanders and Brittany, where they had served His Majesty many years in honorable positions of much confidence; Captain Gerónimo Martin Palacios, who went as cosmographer on this expedition to survey the country, and to make a map and drawing of all that might be discovered, setting down clearly and with precision the ports and the latitudes; the pilots and masters of the ships and their assistants; and Ensigns Juan de Azevedo Texeda, Martin Galeote¹⁷ and Sebastian Melendez, all good soldiers and sailors who had served His Majesty very well on many other occasions.

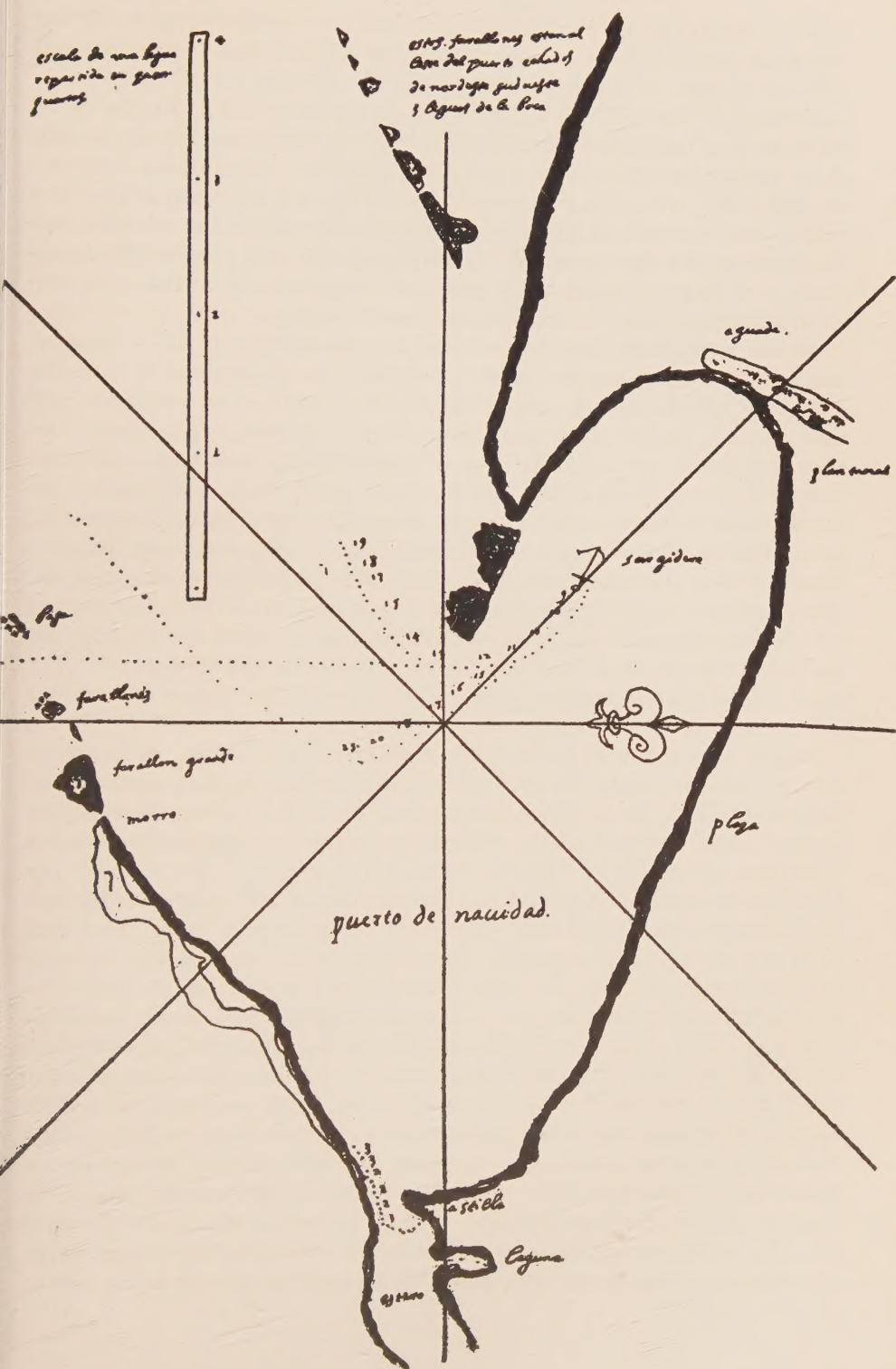
His Excellency also ordered a company of two hundred old soldiers to be raised, who knew how to handle arms well and assist in the work of managing the ships, and who should be good sailors. As ensign of this company he appointed Juan Francisco Suriano, and as sergeant, Miguel de Legar, very good soldiers. These directed the men and the soldiers, who formed the best and most splendid company that had ever been seen in New Spain. The force having been raised, the Ensign and Sergeant were ordered to take it to the Puerto de Acapulco, where they were to embark on the ships at that place.

These things being thus arranged, the Viceroy ordered Don Francisco de Valverde, factor of the royal treasury in Mexico, and purveyor of the royal fleets, to send to Acapulco at once all that was under his charge and to pay the soldiers, as they were going at once, as already ordered. The time having now come for the *General*, the friars and the captains to leave, the Viceroy had all of them called together in the palace and made them a very discreet harangue, putting in the hands of all the business on which he was sending them, and charging them to maintain peace and unity, and obedience and respect to their superiors, especially that which all had to have for the friars, on whom he had fixed his expectations of the good success of the voyage. With this he bade farewell to all, giving them loving embraces, and they left Mexico all together, March 7, the day of Santo Tomás de Aquino, and reached Acapulco on the 20th¹⁸ of the same month in the year 1602.

CHAPTER III, in which is treated of the force which embarked in the fleet and in what ships, of who went in each one, and of how they departed from the port and commenced their navigation.¹⁹

When the *General*, the friars and the captains reached the Puerto de Acapulco they found there three small ships fit for the voyage, namely the ship *San Diego*, of two hundred tons burden which was the *capitana*, another smaller one called the *Santo Tomás*,²⁰ and the *Tres Reyes*, a *fragata*. The *General* at once gave an order to have them well cleaned and made ready for departure. When the yards were already aloft a letter arrived from the Viceroy giving the rules to be observed during the voyage, and assigning each person to the ship in which he was to go: in the *Capitana* the *General*, and with him the Father Comisario, Fray Andrés de la Asumpcion, and Father Fray Tomás de Aquino; the cosmographer Gerónimo Martin Palacios; Captain Pascual de Alarcon; Francisco de Bolaños,²¹ the chief pilot, with his assistant Esteban Rodriguez, who was also master of the ship, and the ensign of the soldiers, Juan Francisco Suriano. In the *Almiranta* were to be the *Almirante* and with him Father Fray Antonio de la Ascension, to whom His Excellency wrote, begging and charging him in the name of His Majesty to undertake the office of cosmographer, as he knew him to be versed in this science;²² Captain Alonso Esteban Peguero; Ensign Juan de Azevedo Texeda, and Pilot Juan Pascual,²³ with his assistant, Baltazar de Armas, the pilot, who was also master of the ship. In the *Fragata* were to be Ensign Sebastian Melendez, who acted as commander, Ensign Martin de Aguilar Galeote, and Pilot Antonio Flores, who was also her master. This order was obeyed to the letter, and so each one stowed his provisions in a convenient place and all made ready for the voyage. While they were finishing the necessary preparations, the friars ordered everybody, large and small, to confess and receive holy communion, so that the voyage might be made with all who were going in the grace and good favor of God, Our Master. This done, the *General* issued a proclamation for all to go on board according to the prescribed arrangement.²⁴

When all had embarked, a piece of artillery was discharged to sound "weigh the anchor," and the *Capitana*, *Almiranta*, and *Fragata* at once spread their sails to the breeze and commenced their voyage, departing from the Puerto de Acapulco, May 5, 1602, Sunday, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the day of the glorious martyr San Angelo of the Order of Nuestra Señora del Carmen. The *Capitana* towed a longboat for the ordinary service of the voyage with which to survey the ports, bars, bays and *ensenadas*,²⁵ and for other occasions which might arise.²⁶ The fleet now being on the high seas, two leagues from the port, the voyage was commenced, following the coast of New Spain which trends to the northwest, that is, between the west and the north. Along the coast of the South Sea the northwest wind usually blows, and so this wind very shortly was contrary and opposite to the course of our navigation, and thus it continued. In order to make some headway on the course which had been taken, as the northwest wind was strong, it was necessary to sail on the bowline, sometimes

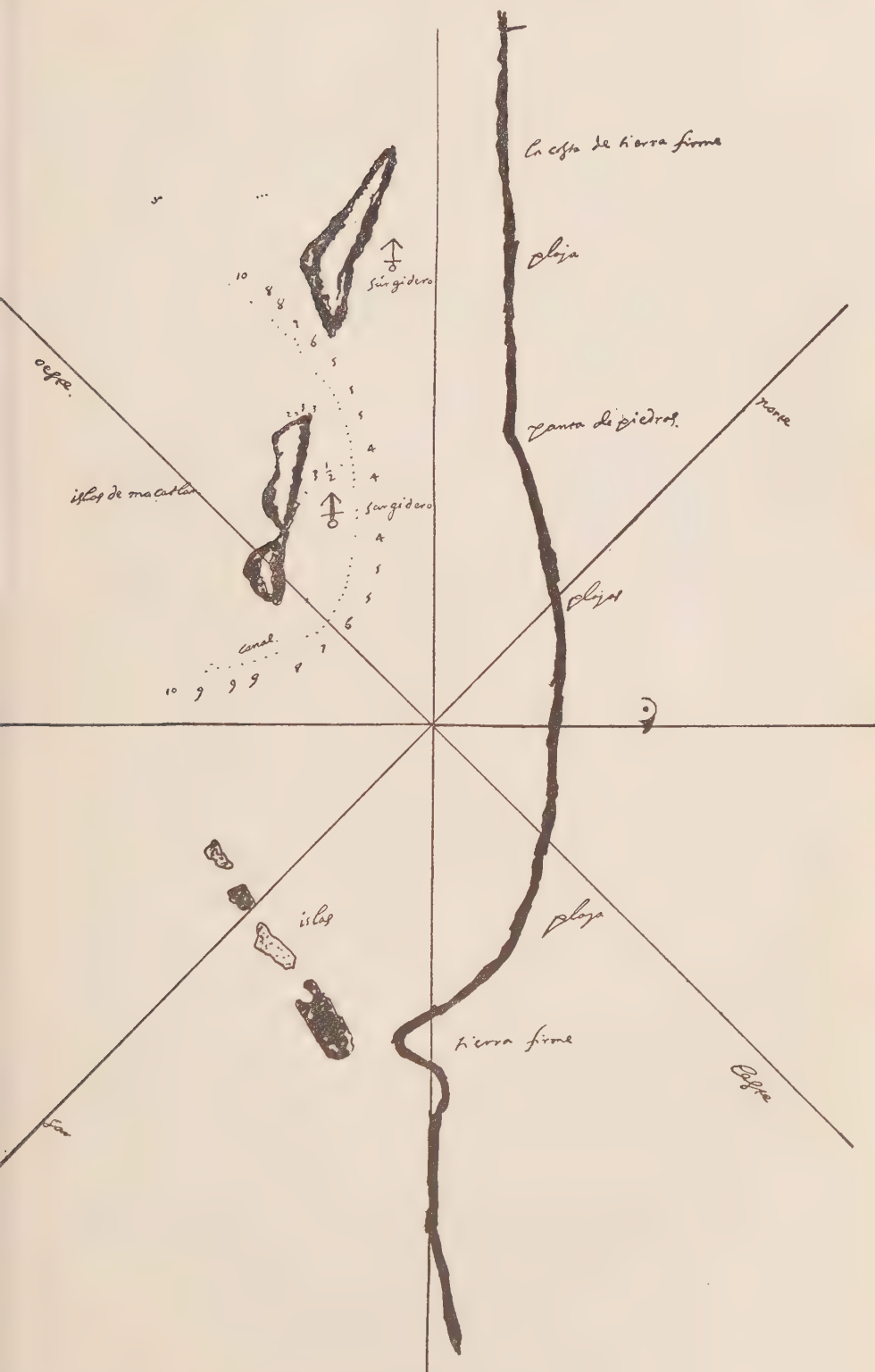


No. 1. Puerto de Navidad

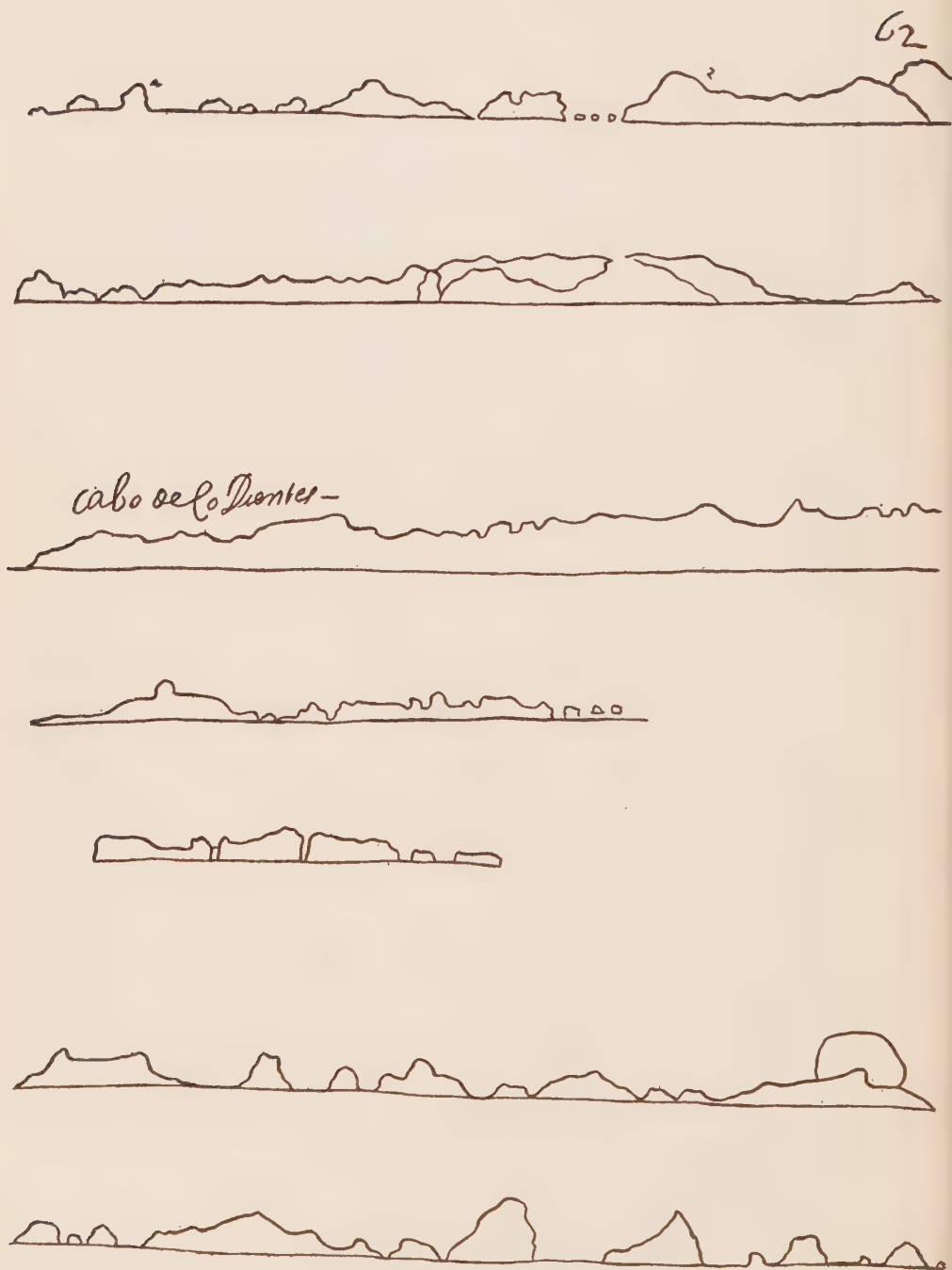
heading out to sea and at other times to land, an insufferable labor. If the currents of the sea are not favorable, instead of going ahead you lose what you have gained, but Our Lord was pleased that the currents should be favorable and against the wind, so with the keel wind (as the sailors call it) the fleet went sailing on little by little and thus reached the Puerto de la Navidad on the 19th of the month, Sunday, at five o'clock in the afternoon. Here it was necessary to make port, as the ships were very crank and rolled a great deal as they had little ballast in them and insufficient cargo for their burden and capacity, and the *Capitana* was making water. This was remedied and needed ballast was taken, as well as wood, fresh water and some fresh provisions, as it is a country of Christians, and near by there are ranches of Spaniards.

In this Puerto de la Navidad were built the ships with which the Philippines and the navigation to and from them were discovered. These ships on returning from those islands sighted land in the latitude of 42°, near which the land makes a point or cape which was named "Cabo Mendocino." To this port the ships from China were wont to come before the Puerto de Acapulco was discovered.²⁷ It is a very good one, and has much timber for building ships. The neighborhood is very beautiful and very well supplied with cattle and food, as nearby there are many ranches of cattle and *çarça*,²⁸ cacao plantations and good fisheries.²⁹ Our necessities being relieved, the fleet sailed from this port on the following Tuesday, the 22d, two hours after sundown, and continuing the voyage with the same difficulty as before, reached the Cabo de Corrientes on May 26, the day of the Pascua del Espiritu Santo.³⁰ Having sighted the cape, the fleet went running along the coast³¹ and reached the Islas de Maçatlan,³² midday Sunday, June 2.

These islands, two in number, are small and close together, and between them and the mainland a good port is formed, into which enters a copious river which comes from Nueva Galicia. It was in this port that the Englishman, Don Tomas Candi,³³ careened his ship while he was waiting to seize and plunder the ships from China. He captured the *Santa Ana* very near California. Here the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* entered the port and found the *Fragata* which had arrived before them. Wood was taken on one of the islands. On this there was an infinite number of birds called pelicans, which breed there. It was at a time when the young ones were too small to fly, so their parents were feeding them with sardines and other small fish. These birds are like large geese; the bill is more than a third of a yard³⁴ long, the legs are long like those of storks, and the feet and the bill are like those of a goose. They have very large crops, some of which hold an *arroba*³⁵ of water. In these they collect as in a purse the fish they catch, without swallowing them, in order to take them to their young. When they reach them they empty out what they carry so that their young can secure their necessary sustenance. They never eat the heads of the sardines, as the ground about their nests was full of them. Among themselves they are very friendly, helpful and merciful. If one of them is sick, lame or maimed so that he cannot go fishing for his food, the others bring it and place it before him to



No. 2. Islas de Mazatlan and adjacent coast



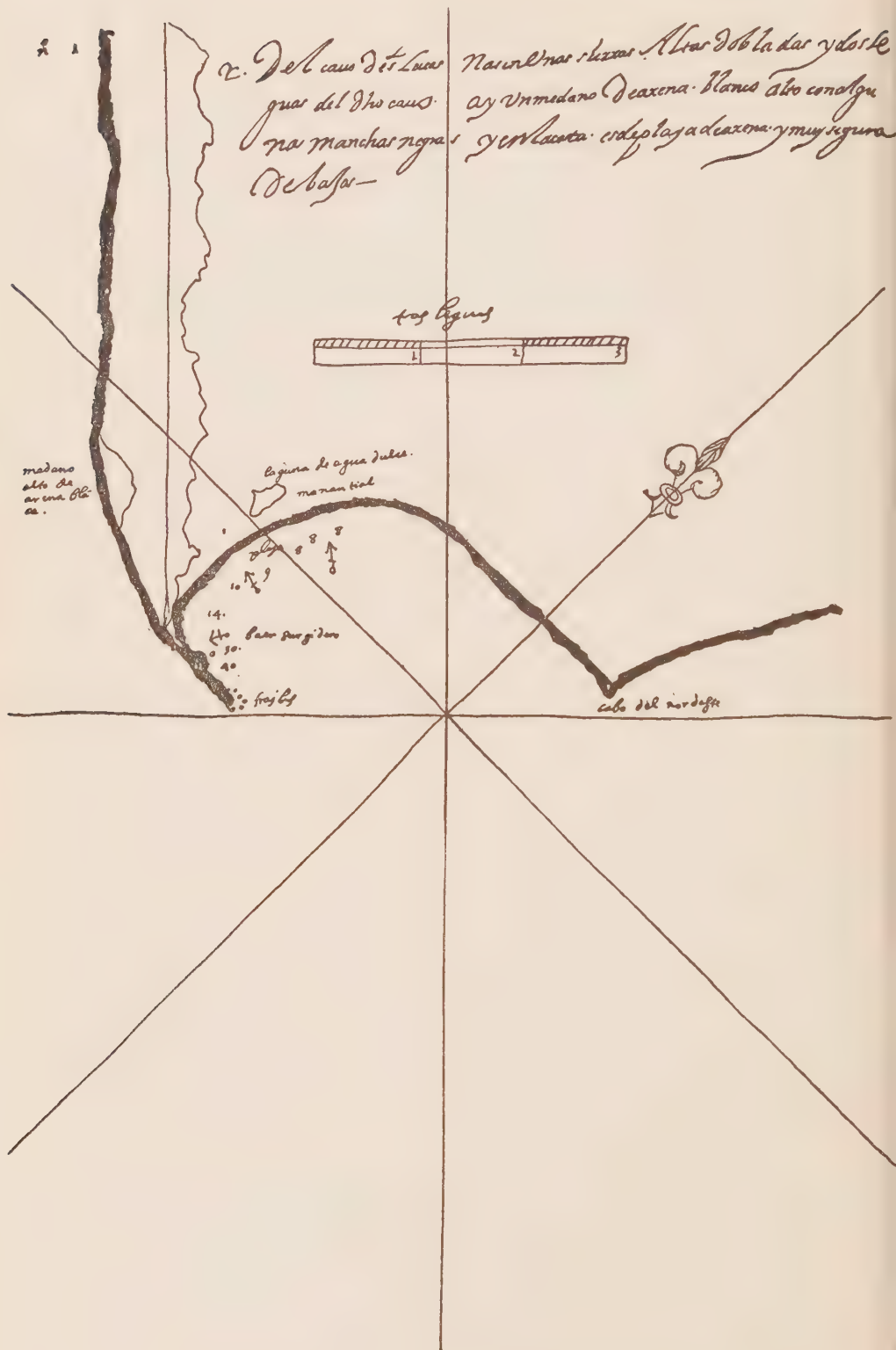
eat. This was observed and much noted by Father Antonio, who saw it with his own eyes among some other pelicans at the Isla de San Roque, as will be seen and the case adverted to farther on when that island comes to be described. In this island there are deer and wild goats, and some little apples grow on them which the Indians of the islands call *jocoystles*.³⁶ These are of such singular virtue, that by simply eating them, all those who arrived there sick on the return voyage recovered their health, as will be related in its proper place. The mainland and the Indians on it are pacified,³⁷ and many Christians and Spaniards live on it. The province is called Acaponeta, or Chametla.

Here, in the kingdom of Galicia on the coast which belongs to New Spain, begins the entrance to the Sea of California,³⁸ which continues to Sinaloa and Culiacan, and runs on to the provinces of New Mexico, to finally reach the Kingdom of Quivira and the Strait of Anian, by which one can find passage and navigation to Spain, as will be related in its place. Thirty-four leagues from these islands along the coast referred to, the Rio Grande, which has its origin in the Rio de Toluco and is there known as the Rio Navito,³⁹ enters this sea, which some call "The Sea of Cortés," as he was the first who sailed on it when he went to the Californias in 1535, but others call it the "Mar Rojo," because the water has a reddish appearance.

The fleet sailed from these islands on the same day it arrived, in order to traverse the arm of the sea between them and the Punta de la California, called "Cabo de San Lucas." It is more than fifty leagues across. Our Lord was pleased that on Sunday afternoon, June 9, the fleet should come in sight of the Californias.⁴⁰ Approaching the Cabo de San Lucas in order to search for a port there, a fog came up so thick and dark that the ships became separated. Losing contact with each other and without knowing where the others were, they went on for a day and a half. It was a recognized miracle of God that the *Almiranta* was not wrecked on some reefs at this cape. As in the darkness she was just about to strike them, not being fifty paces from them, the fog cleared up for just a moment, and thus the danger was seen. An endeavor was at once made to avoid it by putting the helm to the side, and with this the ship came up with her bow to the sea. It was a miraculous thing, because in an instant the day darkened again with the fog as heavy and thick as before. By this it was understood how much Our Lord would be served with the voyage, and how the Devil attempted to prevent it with this occurrence and others which will be related. This happened at seven o'clock in the morning of the 11th of the month, the day of the Apostle San Bernabé. At nine the day cleared up a little and the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* joined each other and together took refuge in a good bay near the cape. On this same day of San Bernabé, they entered this port, where the *Fragata* was anchored.

CHAPTER IV, in which is treated of what this fleet did in the Bahia de San Bernabé, at the Cabo de San Lucas and the Punta de la California, of what was discovered there and of the departure therefrom.

As the fleet reached this bay on the day of San Bernabé, it was named "San



Bernabé." As soon as the fleet entered, and while furling the sails, a large number of naked Indians was seen on the beach. They all had bows and arrows and some had spears in their hands. With great cries and shouting and throwing up of sand in the air with their hands, they seemed to be calling to those on the ships. The *General* on seeing this gave an order for the ships' boats to be made ready and for some soldiers to arm themselves for the purpose of going ashore to look over these Indians and find out what they wanted. The *General*, the *Almirante*, the three friars, and other captains with twelve soldiers⁴¹ armed with their harquebuses and matches lit, therefore embarked in the boats. As these were approaching the beach the Indians,⁴² seeing so many men and such a fleet, became suspicious and apprehensive and retired to a little hill near by to look on and be safe, and to see if those who were coming were peaceable. All landed on the beach and on attempting to approach the Indians they went farther away. In order to lead them up peacefully, Father Antonio, by order of his superior and with his blessing, went alone to where they were, and because of the signs and gestures he made, they waited for him. He came up to them and embraced all with much love and kindness. They at once put their arms on the ground and by signs made him sit down⁴³ with them and tell the others not to come up, but to put down their arms as they had just done. Father Antonio did this and called a Negro boy, whom he brought with him and who carried a wicker basket of biscuit. The Negro came up and the Indians were delighted to see him, caressing him very much, giving it to be understood that they had some friendship and trade with some other Negroes and that either near by or among them there must be some Negro settlement.⁴⁴

Meanwhile the *General* and the *Almirante* laid down their arms and in company with the other two friars came up to Father Antonio. The Indians kept quiet and took what was given them, such as glass beads, little looking-glasses and other trifles, although they were suspicious, and afraid that some hardship or misfortune would happen to them. So after receiving the biscuit and other little things the Spaniards gave them, they went away very contented to their settlements. When the Indians had gone, the *General* with the rest went around looking over the place and found among some green cane brakes a lake of very good water, quite near the beach. On the other side of this bay there are some rocks on which the surf beats, and among these and on the beach a great quantity of fresh sardines was found which had been left there by the return of the waves. These in endeavoring to escape from other larger fish had come close to shore and the waves had thrown them out and left them dry. So many and so good were they that on what was collected all those of the fleet supped that night and dined the following day. On the beach were found many heaps of mother-of-pearl shells in which pearls grow. There were many of these shells scattered through the sand, which, struck by the rays of the sun at midday, scintillated like stars, making it look like a starry heaven. From this the great richness in pearls in that sea can be readily seen.⁴⁵ It is certain that they are there and very fine ones at that.

Under the shelter of the rocks above mentioned a large tent or hut was set up under which an altar was made where the friars said mass every day while they were there. Here was celebrated the festival of the most Holy Sacrament, on the eighth day of that festival.⁴⁶ There was a sermon and a procession with the most Holy Sacrament and a sculptured image of Our Señora del Carmen which the friars carried for the consolation of all. This day all those on the fleet confessed and took communion. It was a great spiritual solace for all, although I do not think that the Devil received much pleasure from it.

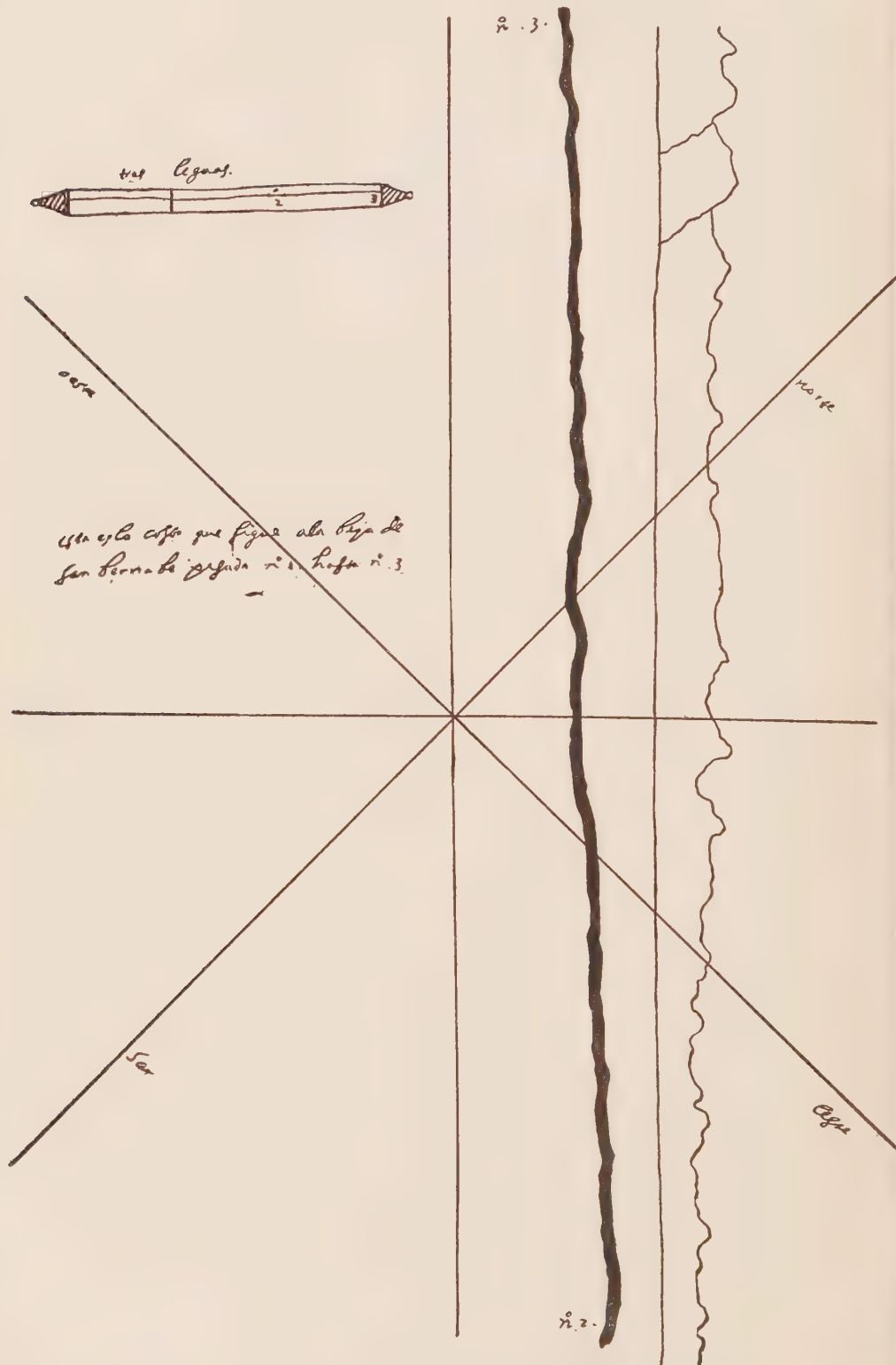
The fleet remained in this bay some days waiting for the conjunction of the moon to pass, and in the meantime the men refreshed themselves and washed their clothes. Some small necessary work was done on the ships, water and wood were taken, and with the nets which each ship carried, a great quantity of fish of many species and different forms, all very good, wholesome, and of good taste, was caught each day. That it may be known what the kinds of fish were, I give here the names of those I saw and had in my hands;⁴⁷ sardines, *chernas*, red-snapper, perch, *cornudos*, dog-fish, sharks, devil-fish, skate, salmon, tunny, *esmeregales*,⁴⁸ oysters, ray-fish, *chuchos*, mackerel, roncodors, mutton-fish, bonitos, *puercos*, sole, *sirgueros*,⁴⁹ newts, a great quantity of pearl oysters, and many whales. The devil-fish are so large that one of them wrapped itself around the cable of the anchor-buoy with which the *Almiranta* was made fast, pulled it up and made off with it and the ship,⁵⁰ so that it was necessary to kill it, but a large number of soldiers and sailors who were pulling it with strong ropes never succeeded in getting it out on land from the water. The mouth is like a half-moon, seven spans across from one side to the other, and from the head to the tail it measures seventeen spans.

The country is of good climate, fertile and healthful. The bay is under the Tropic of Cancer.⁵¹ The surrounding country is level, and well fitted for cultivation and for sowing seeds and vegetables. Of trees and shrubs there are: plums,⁵² which in place of gum exude a great quantity of very fine fragrant incense, *pitahayas*,⁵³ heather, mastic, live-oaks and white oaks, and cedars and pines in the mountains. They say that the plums are of good taste, but I did not try them. There is much game in the mountains and on the wing: lions, tigers, deer, stags, rabbits, hares, and many coyotes. Of birds there are doves, wild pigeons, quail, and many different kinds of ducks. There is a lagoon of salt where good salt works can be made, and from which plenty was taken.

The Indians appeared to be of good disposition, meek and grateful. Each day they came to see the Spaniards and be with them, because they treated them with affection. They brought many little things which they gave the *General* and the soldiers, such as skins of the lion, tiger, deer, and seal, dressed soft with the hair on, net caps of cotton, and other little nets carefully made. They go about naked and allow the hair of the top of the head to grow very long, and with this they make great topknots which stand up, in which they put those things which to their mind are beautiful and ornamental. Some have light-colored hair. They paint themselves white and black. The women go about

covered from the breast down with the skins of the animals above mentioned. They are of good appearance, modest in their behaviour, of good eyes, and very prolific, because many of them carried two babies together at the breast. The men and women are even-tempered, affable, gay, grateful, good-hearted and docile. It was in this bay or near it that the Englishman⁵⁴ in years past captured the *Santa Ana* coming from China. He put the people on shore in this bay and having taken out of her what he pleased, he set fire to her and burned her down to the water's edge. As what was left of her unburned remained afloat on the water, the waves carried her into this bay. The Spaniards, who were on land without resource, on seeing this plunged into the sea and boarded her. Throwing out the ballast she carried, they were left with sufficient hulk, which they equipped as best they could with some jury-masts. With this they were able to reach Acapulco, where they related their hardships, and found relief for a part of them. In this bay these Spaniards had seized an Indian man and woman who were bathing in the lake of fresh water and carried them away with them. The man jumped overboard with some irons on him, but I do not know what happened to the woman. This case they have ever present before them. They also remembered the bad treatment they had received from the Spaniards who went with the Marqués del Valle, Don Fernando Cortés. When these were in the country, they treated them very badly, killing many of them and setting furious dogs on them. For fear that something similar would now happen to them, they did not wish to await the Spaniards until Father Antonio reassured them.

Before re-embarking to continue the voyage, the stores of clothing carried for the account of His Majesty were divided among the men at cost, in part payment of their wages.⁵⁵ This was a great help for all. While these things were happening, the day of the conjunction of the moon arrived, and as it seemed to promise good weather, the *General* issued a proclamation for all to embark.⁵⁶ The day of the conjunction, Wednesday [June 19], sail was made and the three vessels departed from this bay, having left the longboat full of sand in the little lake, as it was a great hindrance to the navigation. A matter of a few leagues from there, the northwest wind came up so strong and furious that the *Fragata*, not being able to withstand it, went back to the bay, and the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* followed her so as not to leave her. Three times the fleet sailed from this Bahia de San Bernabé, and as many times returned in spite of themselves, as the wind was very strong, and the sea ran so high that it seemed as if it was going to bury the land and swallow up the ships.⁵⁷ What the origin of this might be is well understood, and that it was the Devil, who caused it all in order to hinder the voyage and prevent the discovery from being made, so that he would not lose his lordship over the souls of the natives of that great kingdom. These difficulties and many others which the Devil brought about as obstacles to this discovery, caused no faltering whatever, but on the contrary all, profoundly inspired with the desire to save so many souls, made every effort to pass onward, willing to die rather than abandon it. They therefore

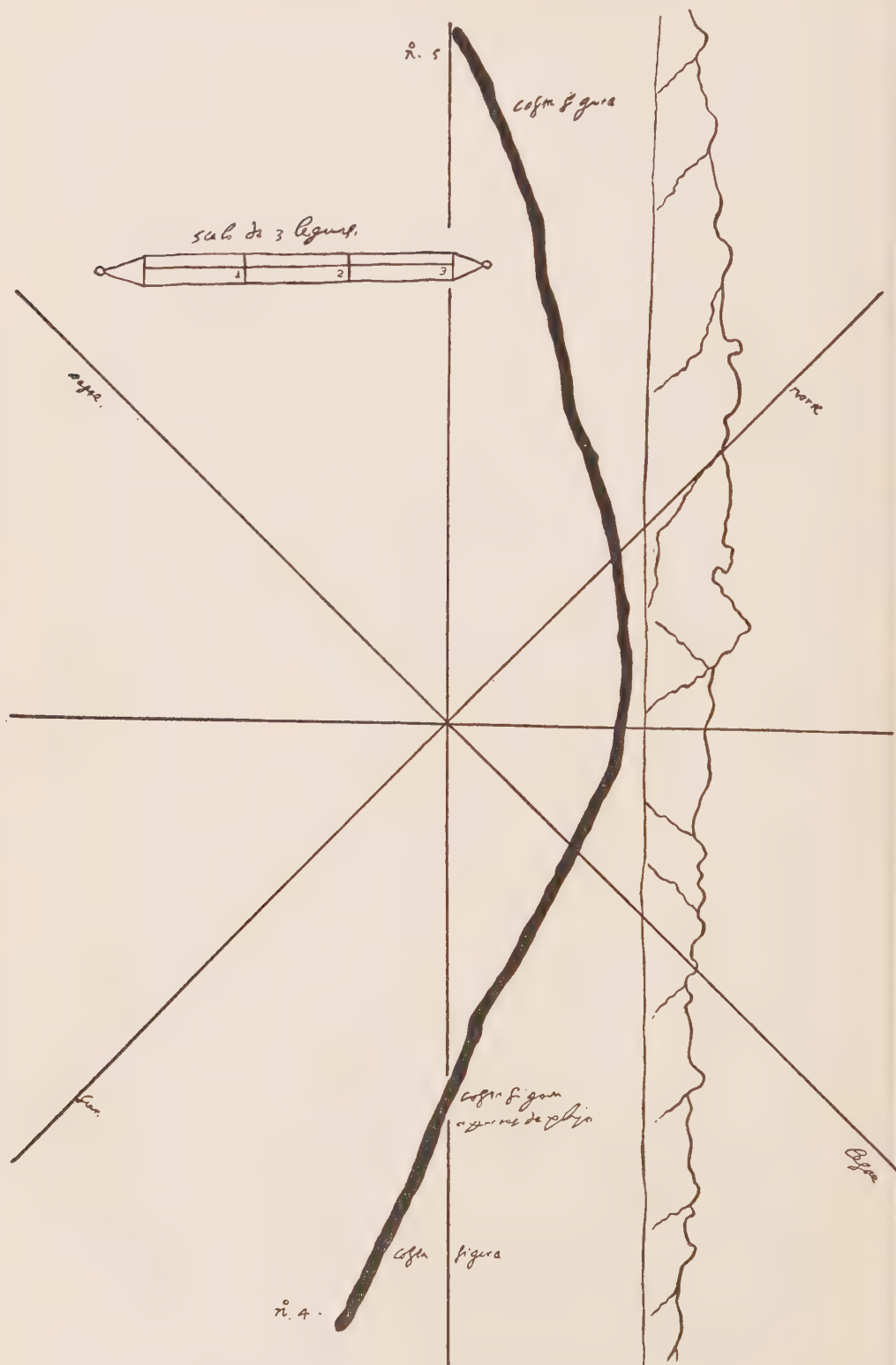


No. 5. Coast north of Cabo de San Lucas with the Sierra del Enfado

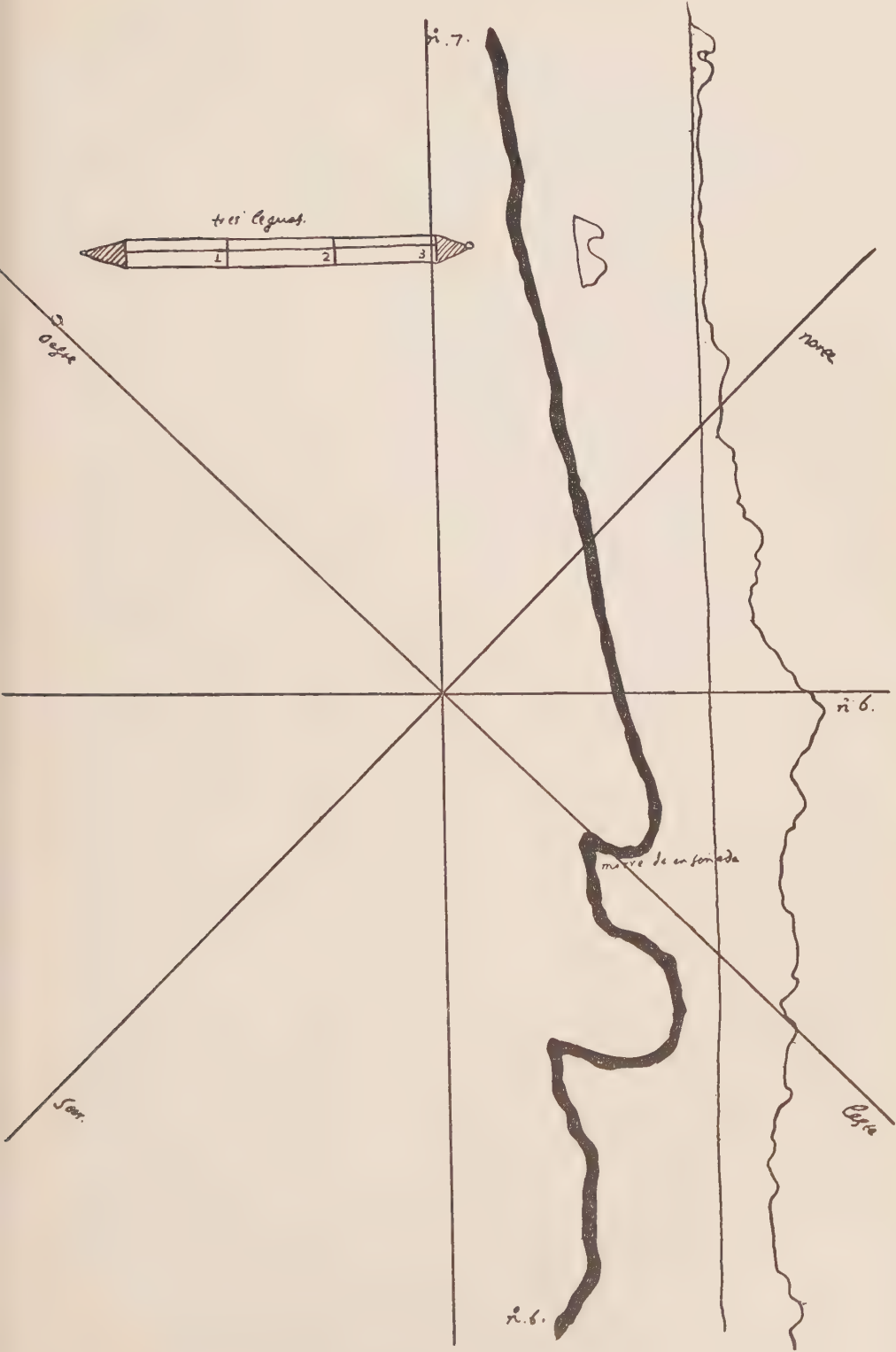
again departed to continue their voyage with the determination to run out to sea beyond sight of land. This was the fifth time that the fleet departed from this port, and it was on July 5. The *Fragata* could not withstand such a gale and so returned another time, but the weather being somewhat improved, she left again and, following her course under the shelter of the land, made her voyage, and what happened to her will be related in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V, *in which is treated about what happened to this fleet from the time it sailed from the Baia de San Bernabé to the arrival at the Isla de Cedros or Cerros.*⁵⁸

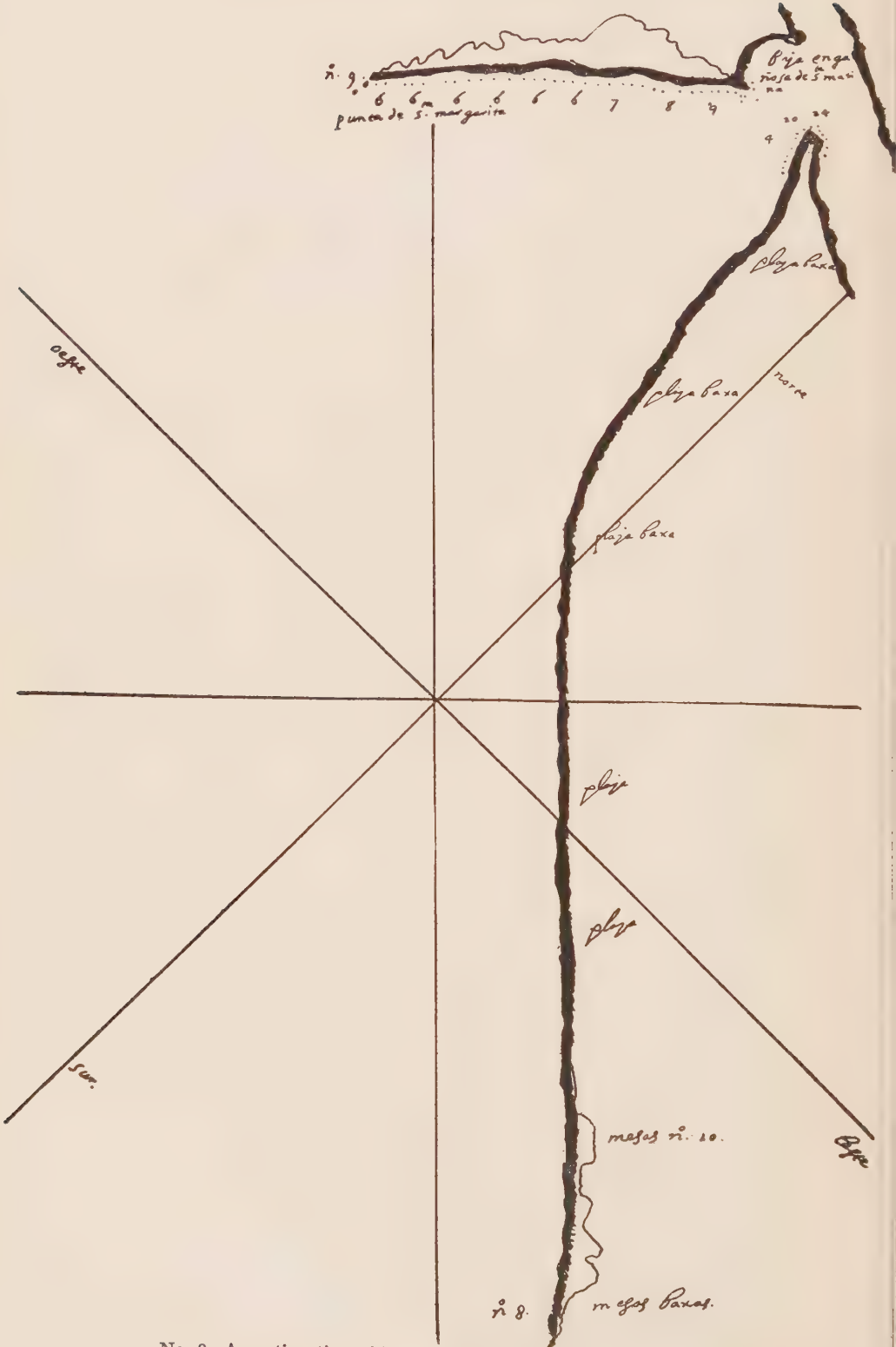
At the end of the preceding chapter I related how the fleet had departed from the Baia de San Bernabé July 5 to continue the voyage. As soon as they reached the high seas the northwest wind struck them again with such great force that they were almost obliged to return to the port. The *Capitana* and *Almiranta* went out to sea as best they could, but the *Fragata*, not being able to follow them, went to the shelter of the land, and thus the *Fragata* was left behind, and thought it best to return to the Puerto de San Bernabé. The *Capitana* and *Almiranta*, thinking she was following them, went on their course by the bowline, tacking against the force of the wind. Seeing that the *Fragata* was not following, they decided to approach the land to see if they could find her. On nearing it, on the 8th of the month, in front of some high mountains they were becalmed so that in eight days they were not able to advance a single league. This was not for lack of wind, but because whatever distance they would have sailed, the force of the currents, which were contrary to the wind, made them lose, a matter of surprise to all. When the wind died out the currents stopped, and when the wind began to blow they began to run. The secret of this could never be made out. God knows the cause and the reason for it. On this account they called those mountains the "Sierras del Enfado,"⁵⁹ inasmuch as the sight of them produced so much vexation in all. Prayers were said to our Señora del Carmen on the day that the Barefoot Carmelites celebrate the festival of this most pious lady, the 16th of the month. They asked her as the Mother and Patroness of this expedition, to take them away from the place, each one making his vow to her. While they were chanting a litany a fresh, soft and pleasant wind came up with which they escaped from such a tiresome place and went along the coast near the port which we call "Magdalena." Here a fog came up so black and thick that in the waist of the ship itself a person could not see another six paces away. The *Capitana* approached land in order to inspect the port and the *Almiranta* stood off to sea so as to avoid such a danger as the one in which she was placed at the Cabo de San Lucas. When the day cleared up the *Almiranta* found the *Capitana* missing, and thinking that she had gone ahead, continued on her course; meanwhile the *Capitana* was left in the Puerto de Magdalena.⁶⁰ This happened July 20, the day of our father the Holy Prophet Elias. After the *Capitana* reached port and found that the *Almiranta* did not appear, great concern was felt and the *General* made some soldiers who were of good courage ascend a high hill. These saw the *Almiranta*



No. 6. A continuation of No. 5



No. 7. A continuation of No. 6



No. 8. A continuation of No. 7 to the Punta de Santa Margarita

very clearly far out to sea sailing onward. They raised some smokes as a signal that they were there, but although those on the *Almiranta* saw this smoke they paid no attention to it and went on, thinking that those who made it were Indians, as they had seen them do this all along that coast.⁶¹ In this manner the *Almiranta* and *Capitana* lost sight of each other, and for many days did not meet again until by a mere chance they came together at the Isla de Cedros, as ordained by our Master Jesus Christ.

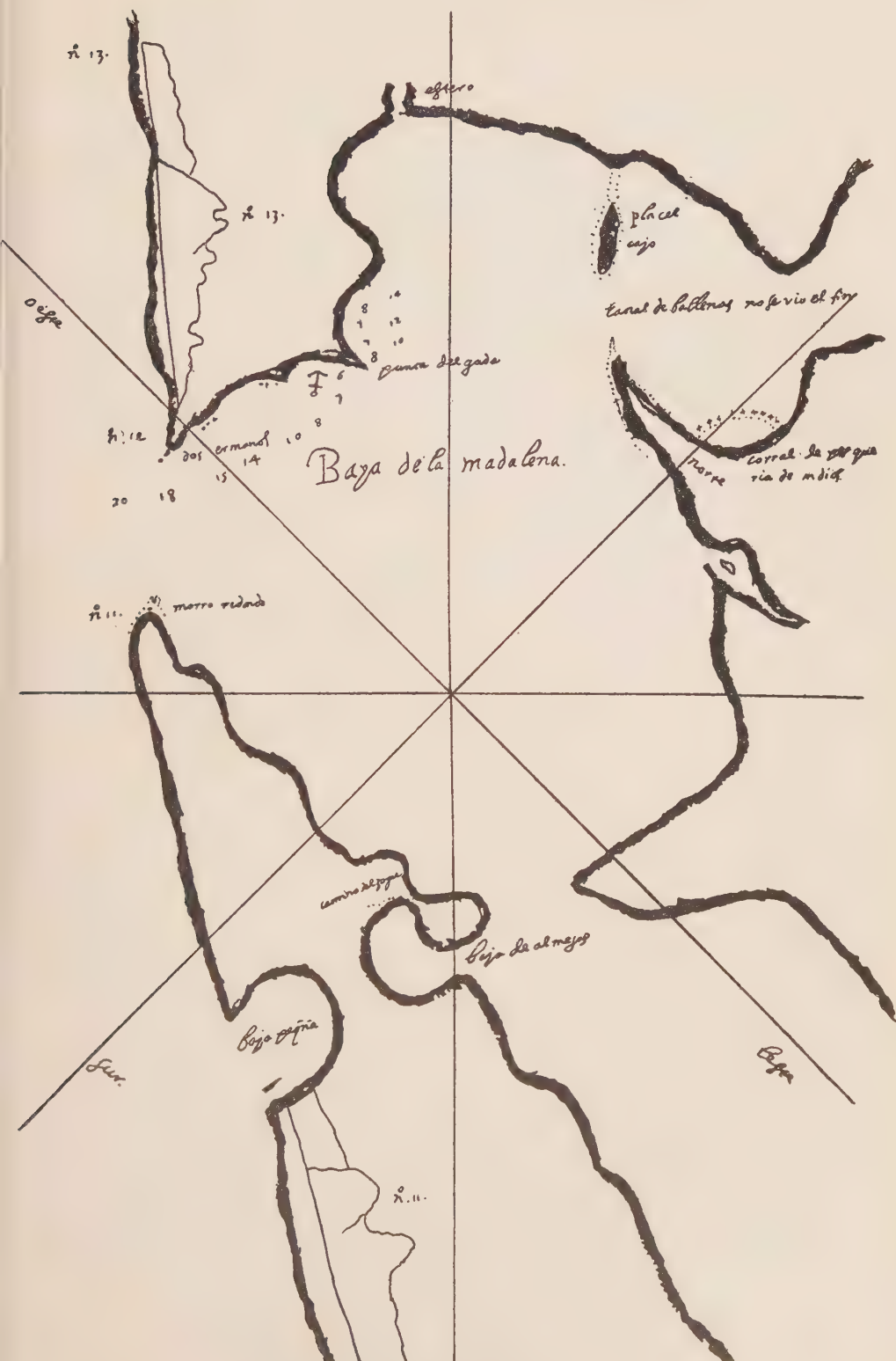
As the *Capitana* entered the Puerto de la Magdalena⁶² without the *Almiranta* and the *Fragata*, the anxiety which this produced in all can be easily understood, although they consoled themselves with the account the soldiers gave that she was sailing on her voyage after the *Capitana* which they thought had gone on. From the time the *Almiranta* found herself alone, they thus went on, inspecting whatever ports and *ensenadas* there were on the coast, discovering what will be related farther on. In this Puerto de la Magdalena those on board the *Capitana* went ashore and the friars said mass, commending the *Almiranta* to God through the medium of the most Holy Virgin, Our Lady, and the glorious Santa Maria Magdalena, as July 22 was the day of this glorious saint. The *General* and the rest of the soldiers confessed and took communion that day, making the same prayer to Our Lord, Jesus Christ, with devotion and many tears.

This Puerto de la Magdalena is a very large, extended and capacious bay. There are many good ports and places in it in which any ship can anchor protected from all winds. The port can be entered by two ways, one by which the *Capitana* came in, the best and deepest, and the other on the southeast side. The bay where this entrance is was called "Baia de Santa Marina," and here the *Fragata* entered while searching for the *Capitana* and *Almiranta*. After the wind which obliged her to return to the Baia de San Bernabé had calmed down, she departed to follow her course, and coming coasting along, found this bay and entered it, expecting to find there the *Capitana* and *Almiranta*.⁶³ Not doing so, she sailed out and followed the coast, fell in with the other opening, which she entered, finding in it the *Capitana*, a great pleasure and comfort to all.

What I shall relate was discovered in this Puerto de Magdalena which the sailors from China call "Santiago."⁶⁴ A great wide arm of the sea enters the land from it, but it was not found out to where it reached.⁶⁵ On the southeast side there is another arm of the sea which reached the Baia de Santa Marina where the *Fragata* was. Here there are many well-built Indians, affable and peaceable. They make use of the bow and arrow, and go about naked. They at once came up to the beach where the Spaniards were and with great submission and subjection immediately offered them their bows and arrows in sign of peace. They brought also a quantity of copal, an incense which they gathered from the plum trees, as had been seen in the Puerto de San Bernabé. In all that country there are forests of them. In the port there is an *ensenada* full of mussels, very good and of good taste.⁶⁶ A great weir made of thick beams was also found in the water, in which the fish the Indians catch for their food enter. There is a lack of fresh water, unless it may be that some large river empties into the



No. 9. Bahía de Santa Magdalena, south part



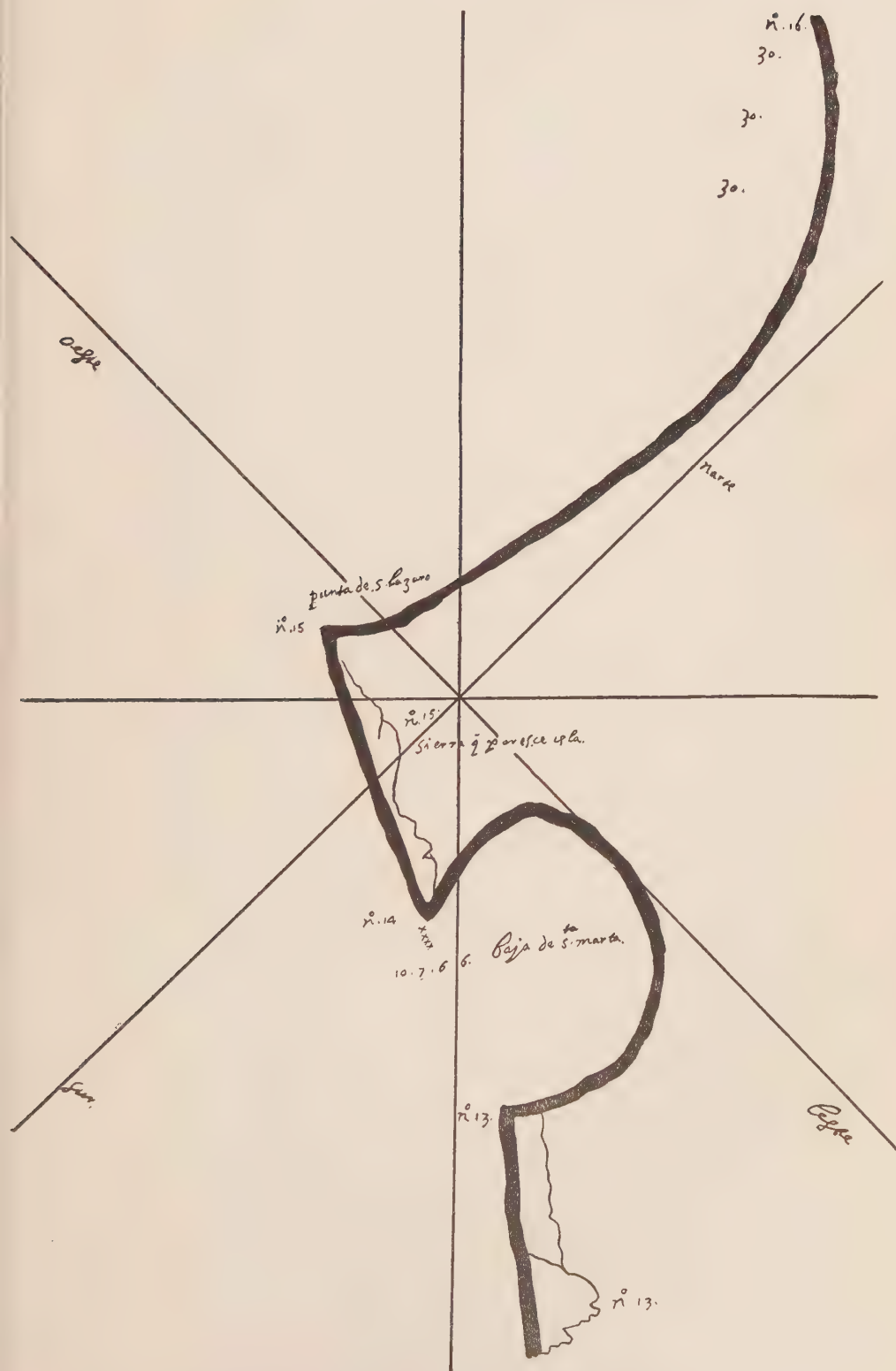
No. 10. Bahia de Santa Magdalena, north part

arm of the sea above mentioned, just as the Rio de Sevilla does in San Lucar, fresh water not being found in it until after passing the Orcadas. Perhaps it is the same in this arm of the sea.

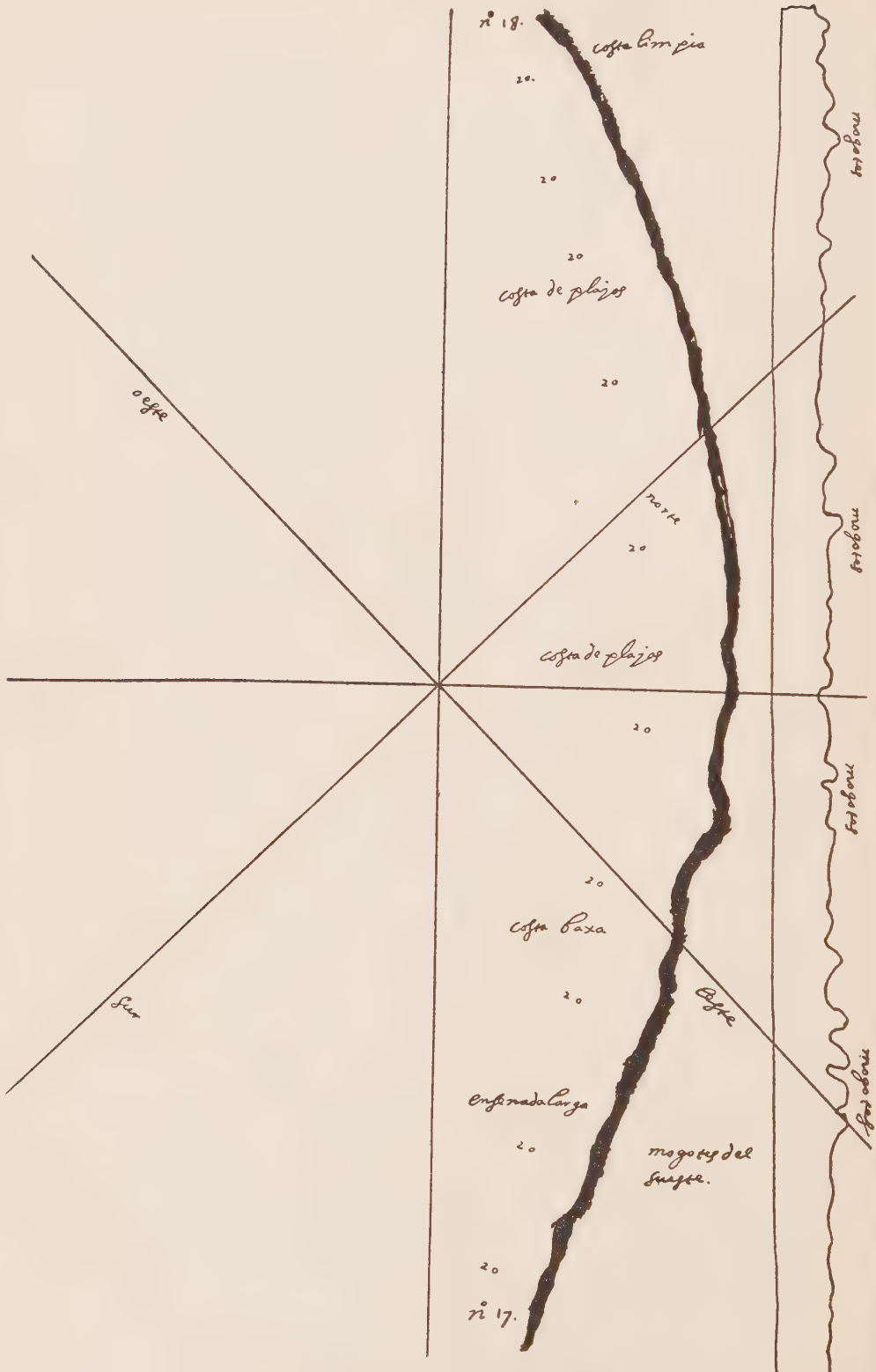
As the *General* now had the *Fragata*, he gave an order to leave that port to go in search of the *Almiranta*, and sailed with her on Sunday morning, July 28.⁶⁷ He made the *Fragata* go inspecting all the ports she could find so that the *Almiranta* might not be left behind in some port or *ensenada*. Five leagues from the Puerto de la Magdalena a northwest wind came up, so furious that it put them in great danger. Wishing to take refuge in an *ensenada* there, they did not dare to do so, because at the entrance there were some shoals on which the sea was breaking heavily. This was named the "Baia de Santa Marta."⁶⁸ They went on their course in sight of land as they could. The coast here is flat, pleasant, and the country inland is but little mountainous.⁶⁹ July 30 they came in sight of an opening by which some river seemed to enter the sea, as some thickets were seen there. The *Fragata* went to inspect it, but before reaching it they saw the sea breaking heavily, and as this seemed to indicate that the entrance would be difficult, she returned to give the news to the *Capitana*, and with this they went on their journey.⁷⁰

This *ensenada*, which was named "San Cristobal," had already been examined by the *Almiranta*. On seeing it at a distance of two leagues, a single anchor was dropped and Captain Peguero went with the ship's boat to look it over. He found that a river entered the sea there, and that the surf was caused by the water which ran out of the river meeting the incoming tide. At the entrance there were more than six fathoms of water, but as night was coming on he did not go inside and returned to the ship to relate this. They continued their voyage, coasting along the land and inspecting it.

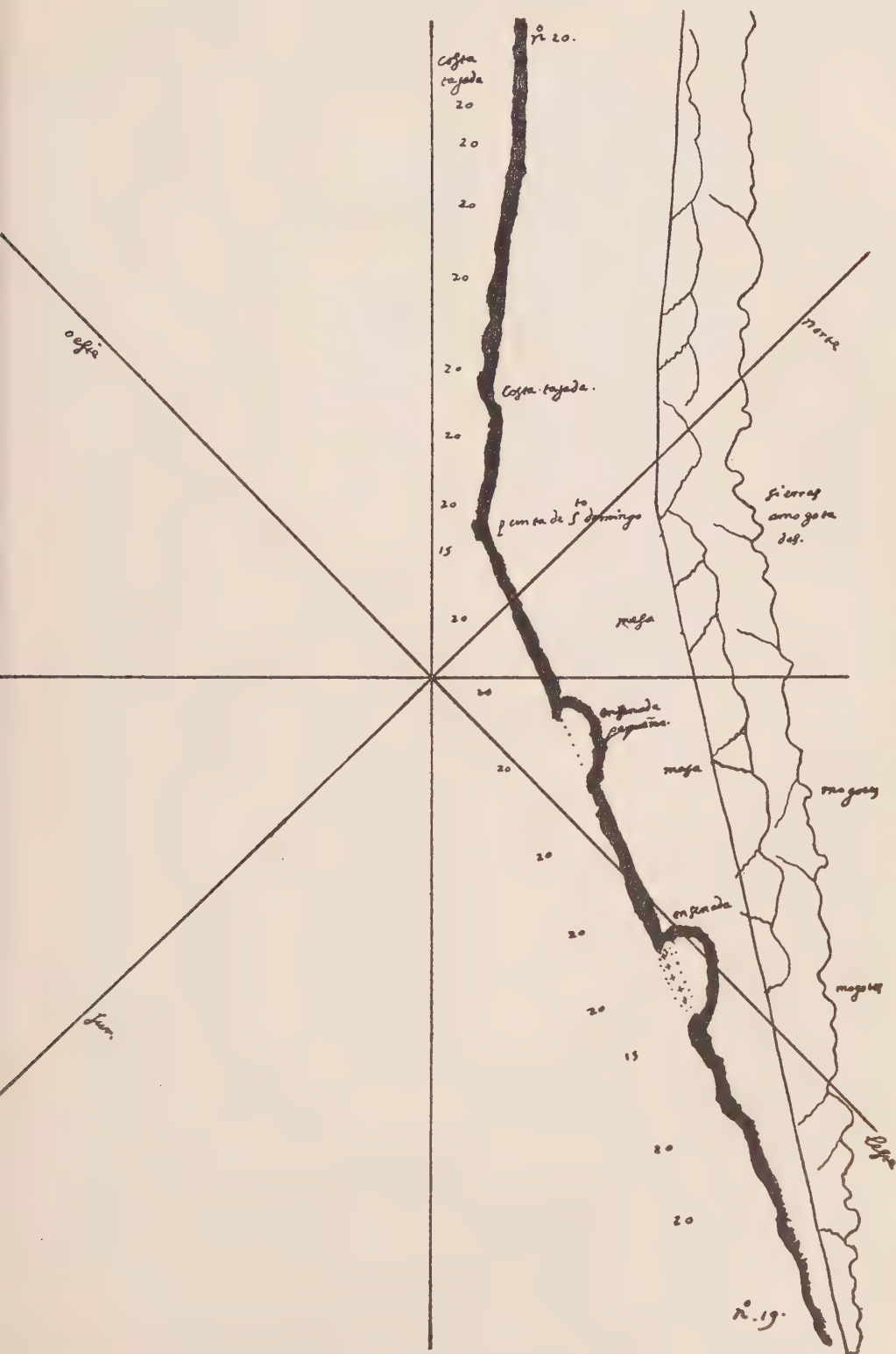
The *Capitana* and *Fragata*, anxious to find the *Almiranta* and a port where they could take water and wood, of which they were in need, saw from afar a large *ensenada*. As it seemed to them that they might find shelter there and relief for their needs, the *General* sent the *Fragata* to see what it was. When she reached it, a long line of shoals and reefs where she had to anchor was seen, and as the *ensenada* appeared to be of no consequence, she made signs to the *Capitana* not to come up, and with this they left it and went on their voyage. The *Almiranta* had already been in this *ensenada* and named it the "Baia de Ballenas" on account of the many whales found there.⁷¹ The reason for this is the enormous number of fish which come there to take shelter, and in pursuit of which the whales come for their sustenance. We were amazed at the multitude of birds, large and small, of various forms and shapes and different colored feathers, hunting their food from the sardines and other small fish. The Indians here were numerous, of good dispositions, friendly and very peaceable. Their color is lighter than those we had seen up to that point. They made great efforts to induce those in the ship to come ashore, and many of them tried to swim out to us, but the surf was so high that it prevented them and our people from treating and communicating. Ensign Juan de Azevedo Texeda at the command



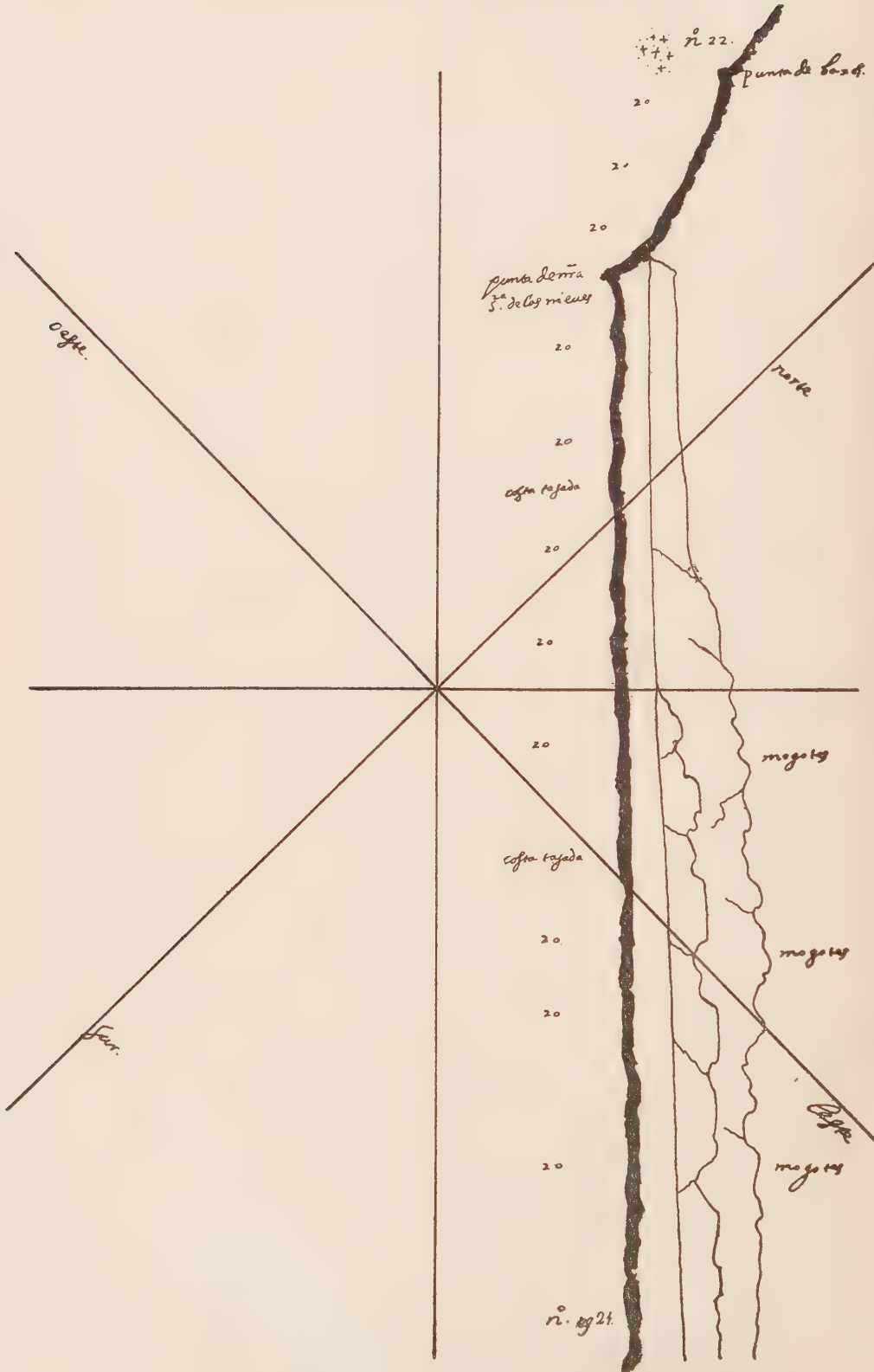
No. 11. Bahía de Santa Marta and Punta de San Lázaro



No. 12. Coast northeast of Punta de San Lázaro



No. 13. The region of the lagoons, to beyond Punta de Santo Domingo



No. 14. Coast from Punta de Santo Domingo to Punta de Nuestra Señora de las Nieves

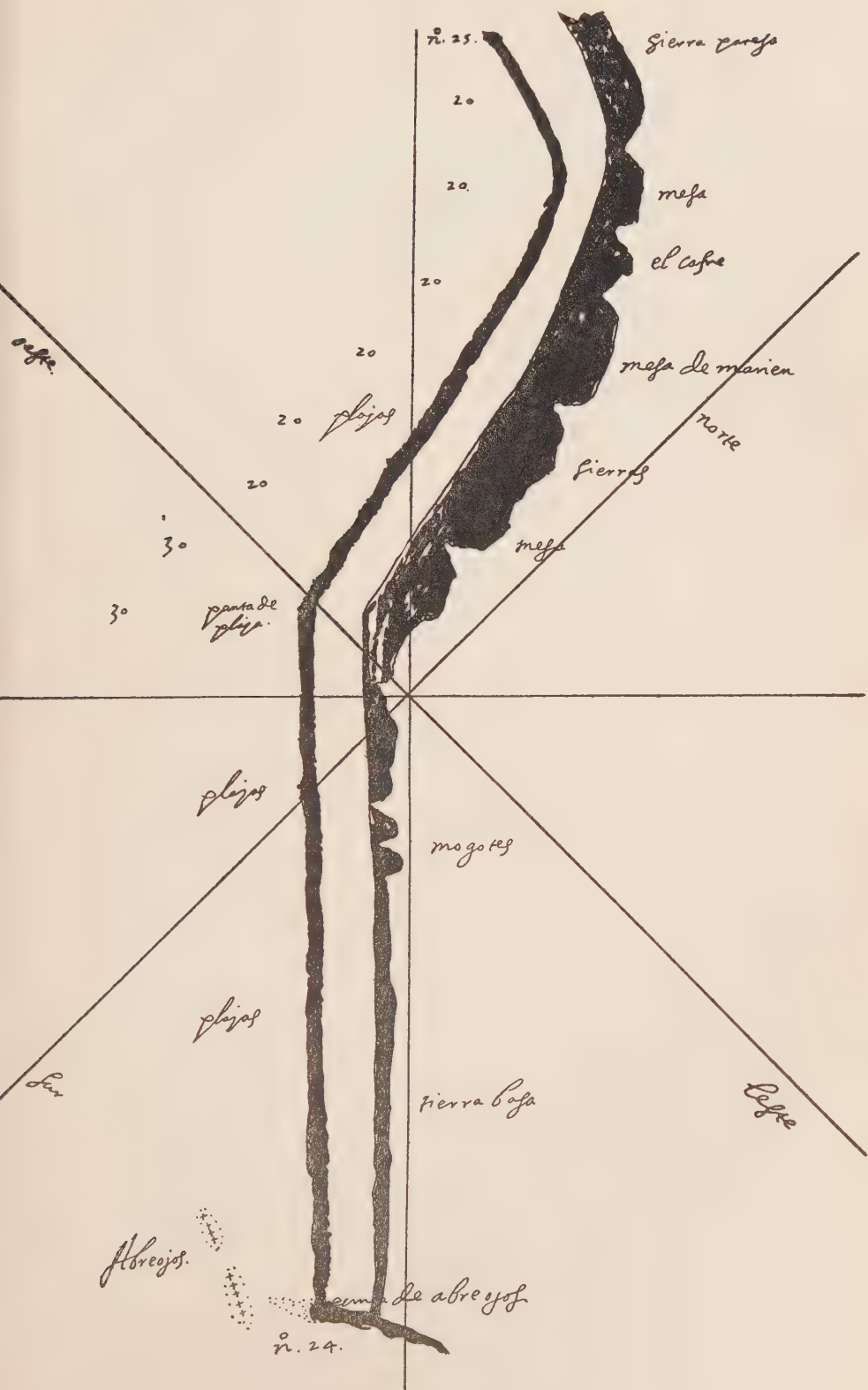
of the *Almirante* went ashore with some soldiers in the ship's boat, but they did not dare to land for fear of losing the boat, as the waves were very high. Seeing this, the Ensign with another soldier plunged into the sea to see what the Indians, of whom there was a great multitude on the beach, wanted, as they were calling them by signs. Before they got out of the water the Indians put some net bags full of oysters on the points of some long poles, and gave them to them with great respect and reverence, treating them as gods and not daring to touch them or come close to them. The Indians explained by signs to the Spaniards that they had very good water and plenty of wood, and that inland there were many people and great towns, from which they could bring whatever they might need. These Indians seemed to be fishermen, trading with those inland, carrying there to sell what they caught. The little nets or net bags in which they presented the oysters were well made and worked with thin thread well twisted.

Two days and nights the *Almiranta* remained here at anchor, waiting for the surf to go down in order to put some men on shore, to take water and wood, to look over the land and to communicate at leisure with the Indians, who during this time never left the beach, expecting the Spaniards to come ashore. As time passed, however, and the sea did not quiet down, and the Ensign having returned to the ship very badly treated by the sea, from which originated a sickness which ended his life, and having given this account, the *Almirante* ordered the anchor to be weighed, and sail made in continuance of the voyage, always looking for the *Capitana*, which, as I have said, was coming behind without their knowing it, and in order not to risk losing the ship by being capsized or submerged by some of the many whales which kept coming up from beneath it. So numerous were they that in order to frighten them, those on the ship kept up a continual noise with bells, basins and other instruments. The *Almiranta* departed from this bay on the last day of July, leaving the Indians very sad and hurt to see them go away without having communicated with them.⁷² Proceeding on her voyage, she reached the Isla de San Roque, which was near. Between there was only a high sierra, which in its highest part has seven peaks or small hills quite distinct from each other. (For this reason it was named "La Sierra de los Infantes.")⁷³ It seems to me that it might be some ten leagues by sea from one place to the other where happened what I shall relate farther on, so as not to miss telling about the voyage which the *Capitana* was making.

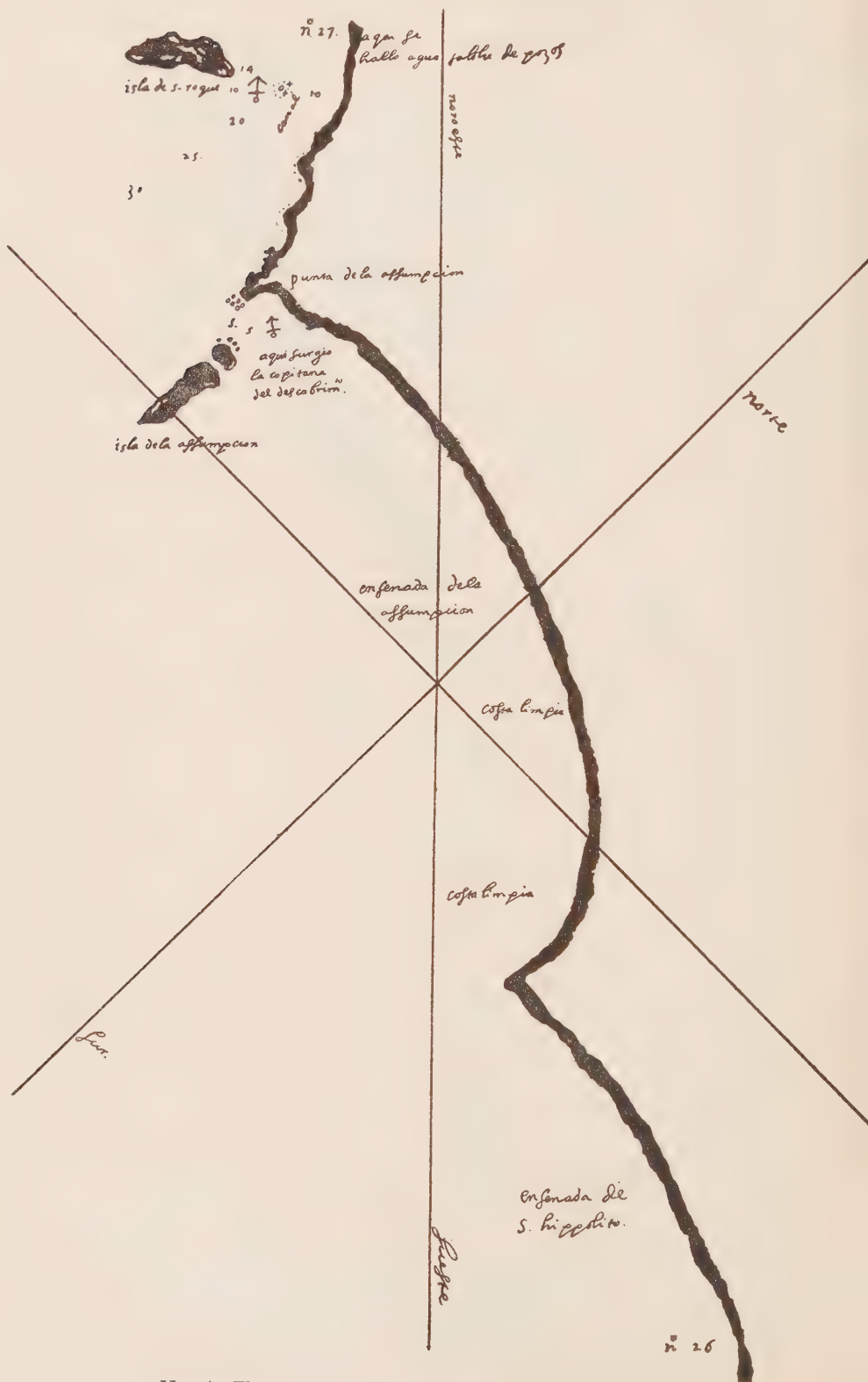
The *Capitana* and *Fragata* proceeding from the Baia de Ballenas, where they had not dared to enter, as the entrance seemed to be difficult and the bay of little importance, came in sight, August 8, of a very large *ensenada* in which it appeared likely that they might find a good port. Entering this, they anchored and the *General* sent the ship's boat ashore with men to see if water and wood, of which they were very short, could be found.⁷⁴ They found nothing they were looking for, and so returned to the ship to give an account of it and then went on their voyage.⁷⁵ On the eve of the Ascension of Our Lady they reached an



No. 15. Bahía de Ballenas



No. 16. Abreojos and the coast to the north



No. 17. The Ensenada de San Hipólito to the Isla de San Roque

island near the mainland⁷⁶ where those of the *Almiranta* had been, having named it "San Roque." Two leagues farther on there was another larger island to which they went, leaving behind San Roque, which they named "Asumpçion," and anchored there on August 5 [15th].⁷⁷

The Isla de San Roque or La Asumpçion is of medium size, all sand and gravel, and appears from the excrement of the numerous pelicans on it, to be made of white plaster. Here those of the *Almiranta* went ashore, particularly Father Antonio who, in company with Captain Peguero went looking all over it. In one place they found a pelican with a broken wing tied, and around him many little piles of fresh fish, and of good large sardines which the other pelicans had brought him to eat as he could not catch them by reason of his captivity and disability, so merciful are these birds (as I mentioned when treating of the Islas de Maçatlan). This was a device of the Indians to sustain themselves with dry feet, because when they saw plenty of fish around the captive pelican, they came out of ambush, frightened the birds away and gathered up what was there, going back to hide again, and waiting for them to bring more. In this way the Indians obtained quite sufficient fish without greater labor (secret wisdom of God that we may praise Him in His works and marvels). Father Antonio out of compassion released the pelican and let him go free to the water. Around this island there are many reefs and keys like small rocks which the sea washes. Many seals were out sunning themselves. They were of the size of yearling calves, with head, ears and nose like them, and barked like dogs. When they come out to sleep on some rock, there is always one of them on guard as a sentinel to see that they are not taken unawares. He places himself at the highest point of all, turning his head from side to side and looking about everywhere. If he sees anyone who could do them any harm, he commences to bark and then throws himself into the water, lighting upon those which are asleep, thus waking them up. They then place themselves in safety.

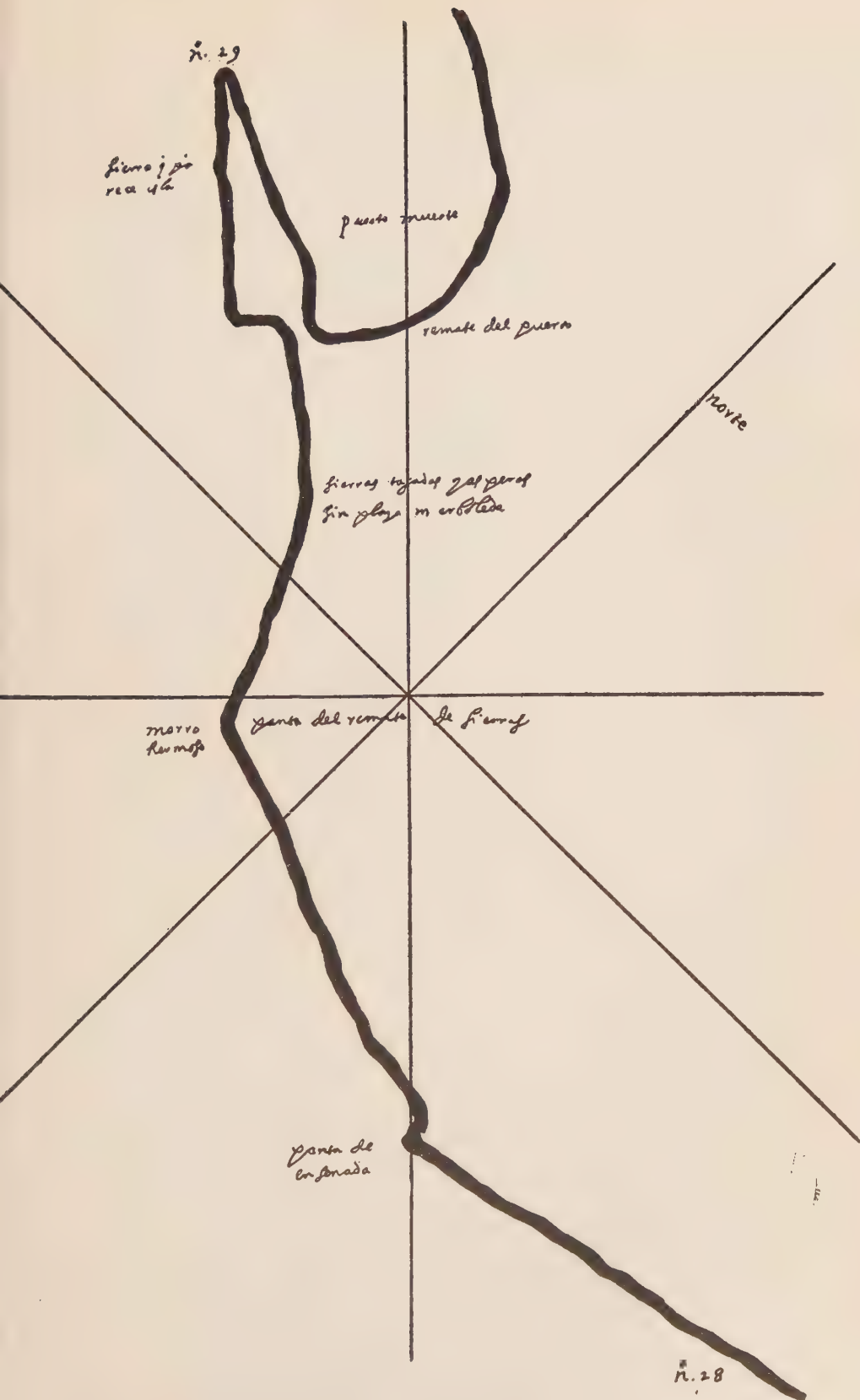
Around these islands in the shelter they afford is an infinite number of various kinds of fish of very good taste, with which the *Almirante* and two other soldiers, with hooks and lines, filled the skiff in less than an hour, while Father Antonio and Captain Peguero were inspecting the island. There were sardines, a third of a yard long, and many other fish of different kinds. On the mainland Father Antonio said mass on the day of the Transfiguration of our Redeemer and Lord, Jesus Christ [August 6], and most of those who were with him took communion. A great number of affable and well-built Indians came to this, surprised to see us, as they had never in their lives seen such men. The mass over, some soldiers went with Sergeant Miguel de Legar to see if they could find water and wood and to look over the country. In front of the island where I have said the *Capitana* anchored, they found a lagoon of very white and good salt, which had been precipitated from sea water. Near by they found in the sand some wells of sweet water, although somewhat brackish, and returned with this news. Inasmuch as the water was distant and would be very difficult to take, they decided to continue their voyage in search of the Isla de Çedros and

the *Capitana*. Father Antonio having surveyed the country and sounded the bay, they made sail August 9, and went on their voyage until they reached the Isla de Çedros.

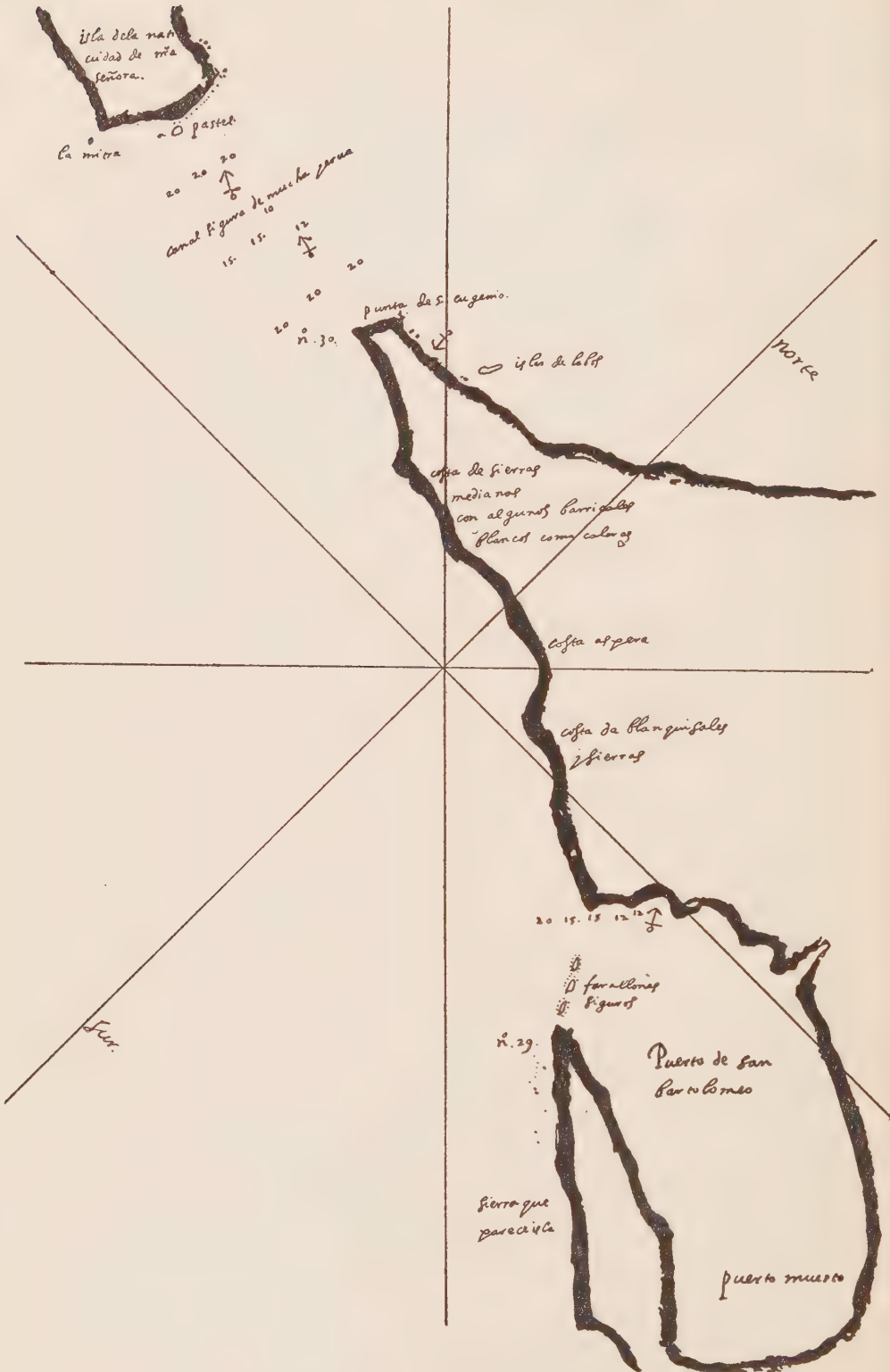
CHAPTER VI, in which is treated of what happened to the *Capitana* and *Fragata* until they found the *Almiranta* at the Isla de Çedros, and of what happened to the *Almiranta* before she found the *Capitana*.

In the preceding chapter I have recounted how the *Capitana* and the *Fragata* had come to examine the Isla de San Roque, and without stopping had passed on to the other island two leagues beyond which was named "La Asumpcion,"⁷⁸ and had anchored near it on the afternoon of the day of the Ascension of Our Lady. On the following day the *General* ordered Captain Alarcon to go ashore with some soldiers to hunt for water. Ensign Martin de Aguilar, Galeote, went with him, and wandering around from one place to another they fell in with the wells of water and the lagoon of salt which those of the *Almiranta* had discovered. They found indications that those of the *Almiranta* had been there, a matter which gave the greatest pleasure and contentment to all. From these wells they took water and what happened there in doing so was very noteworthy. As the wells were made in the sand, in order that they should not become stopped up, they put inside of them some half-pipes in which to catch the water more easily. It happened that all that oozed into the half-pipes was brackish like sea water, and what oozed out and penetrated outside of these was sweet and very good. In this manner they collected the water necessary to relieve their necessities and took from the lagoon some sacks of salt. The surf was furious and wild and the boat, which was full of jugs of water and had some soldiers in it with Captain Alarcon, was upset by a furious wave. They ran a great risk of being drowned, and the jugs were lost. Many Indians came up who behaved very peaceably in the presence of the Spaniards on account of receiving some little things, the giving of which puts under obligations even the most barbarous.⁷⁹ Having taken the necessary water, wood and salt, they departed from that island [August 20] in search of Çedros, thinking from the traces they had found of the *Almiranta* that they would find her in that place. Proceeding on their voyage, they passed within sight of a very high sierra on which the sea beats, but continued their journey without approaching it.

This sierra had a point running far out into the sea which the *Almiranta* encountered.⁸⁰ While attempting to double it the northwest wind blew with such fury that it prevented them from doing so, and kept them there tacking for several days in the effort. At each turn they made they came so close to land they could throw a stone to it from the ship. For this reason the shape of this sierra and what was in it could be seen very well and at leisure. On the whole of it there was not a single green plant or tree. It was all traversed by various bands of numerous different colored metals in different colored soil, which glittered and presented a beautiful appearance and made all their hearts jump.⁸¹ The mystery of it was not known, but some soldiers who had been in New Spain in some mining camps said that the sierra was all mines, and that its colors and



No. 18. From the Punta de San Pablo to the Puerto de San Bartolomé



No. 19. Puerto de San Bartolomé to Natividad

the fact that it was so bare were certain indications that it contained great riches in silver, gold, and other metals. You may be sure that if the coast had not been so bold the *Almirante* would not have failed to send to look it over, but on account of the fury of the sea and wind, he did not dare to do so. The weather finally improved and the sea calmed down a little, giving us an opportunity to double the point and continue to the Isla de Zedros. As the ship was sailing close to shore a small island was encountered near it, which was named "La Natividad de Nuestra Señora."⁸² She passed between this and the shore through some fields of grass called *porras*⁸³ and came to anchor close to the Isla de Çedros, August 19.

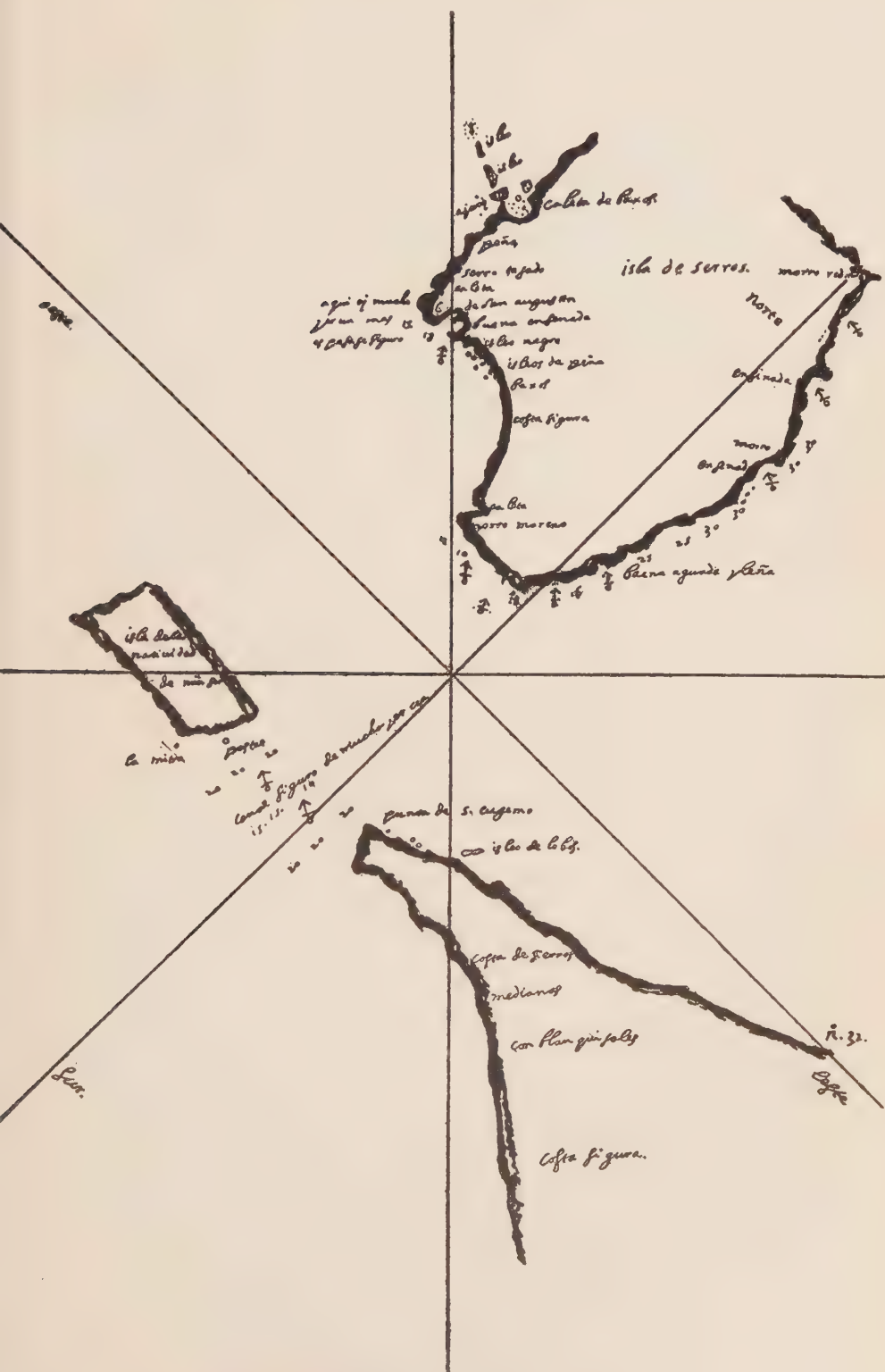
As the *Capitana* and *Fragata* were sailing in sight of the Sierra Pintada just referred to, the point presented no difficulty as it had to the *Almiranta*, and so three leagues before the Sierra de Çedros they came to examine a good port which was named "San Bartolomé." The *Capitana* entered this⁸⁴ and Captain Alarcon at once went ashore with men to hunt for water. They did not find any because that country is very dry and sterile. On the beach they found some pieces of bitumen like whitish pitch, which they did not care to take away, not even a sample of it, as it did not have a good smell and seemed to them to be filth of the sea. Some experienced people on hearing this account have said that it was ambergris; perhaps it is, for there are many whales there. There is such a quantity of it that His Majesty could pay part of his debts with it. (The *Almiranta*, although wishing to inspect this port, did not dare to do so as night was falling, so she passed it at a distance.) Those who went found neither water nor wood and so the *Capitana* continued her voyage. This was on the day of the Apostle San Bartolomé, August 24. As it was at fall of night, they did not see the small Isla de Natividad, but passed outside of it, and in the morning found themselves close to the Isla de Çedros, without knowing what it was, but thinking that it was the mainland. They attempted to go coasting along it, but Our Lord, Jesus Christ, was pleased that for more than nine days they were not able to double a point of the island, which was named "Cabo de San Agustín."⁸⁵ So fatigued were they in beating that the *General* decided to go close in shore with the *Capitana* and anchor at a place which seemed suitable, as it was protected from the northwest wind, and wait there for the *Fragata* while the cosmographer, Gerónimo Martin, should go to find out what land it was and survey it. The *Capitana* therefore anchored at the south part of the island on the last day of August.⁸⁶

I stated above that the *Almiranta* had come to anchor close to the Isla de Çedros on August 19. On the following morning, the day of San Bernardo, the *Almirante* and the *General*, I mean Captain Peguero, and Father Antonio with some soldiers left the ship and went to the island with the things necessary to say mass. This having been said, they went to look for water and wood, and while going about fell in with a narrow path, on which they found some fresh footsteps of barefooted men. Following this they came to some copses of green rushes up a ravine, near which there were signs that water had stopped oozing out only a few days before. Following the path they passed through a ravine with steep sides,

where they found some holes which made somewhat saltish water, which under necessity would pass, although it was not good for the health. Still following the path, they ascended the ravine and reached the summit of the island without having seen any human being. From there the sea could be seen on the other side; to this the path led, and they kept along it to very near the Punta de San Agustin, the one the *Capitana* had not been able to double. As she was not to be seen either there or at sea, those on the *Almiranta* were of the opinion that they should wait for her at the island, taking, meanwhile, water and wood, and making some wells among the rushes. This was done with the greatest possible labor, as some ferocious and savage Indians had already been seen in those mountains, who with shouts and signs with their bows and arrows ordered them to leave the country or they would shoot them. It was therefore necessary for the soldiers to carry their arms, and so, loaded with these and with jugs full of water, anyone can imagine the labor they endured in conveying them almost a quarter of a league.

They took the necessary water and wood, and with the net caught a great quantity of fish with which the men were refreshed and helped; center-fish, lobsters, dog-fish, sea-bream, red-snapper, *viejas*, mackerel, roncadores, cod-fish, *guitarras*, mutton-fish, *puercos*, ray-fish, *chuchos* and *chernas*, all of good taste and flavor and healthful. Father Antonio said mass every day and on that of San Agustin heard confession of the soldiers, and gave them communion. Having been there twelve days and seeing that the *Capitana* neither came nor appeared, it seemed to the *Almirante* and those with him that it would be wise to go around the island in search of her. This plan was put into effect and, August 31, they made sail, steering to the south, in order to commence to round the island on that side. All this Our Lord, Jesus Christ, so ordained, without men understanding his plans, so that the ships might meet as they desired (blessed be His Majesty forever). They had not sailed a league when one of the sailors went aloft to find out what was to be seen. He shouted out that the *Capitana* seemed to be in sight near land, or some other ship at anchor. Others looking at it with attention and care declared the object to be a ship, that the sailors were furling her sails, and that they had just anchored in the port. This news was for all one of the greatest pleasures they had received in all their lives, as it was thought to be the *Capitana*. At the same time Father Tomás de Aquino, who was on the *Capitana*, discovered the *Almiranta* and shouted out with great joy: "I see the *Almiranta*!" With this all those on the *Capitana* rejoiced, shouting out like crazy men. The *Almiranta* kept approaching the *Capitana*, and finally they recognized each other beyond all doubt. When this came to pass and they had come together, there was such great rejoicing on both ships as cannot be expressed in words. (Anyone who has passed through a similar experience can imagine it.)

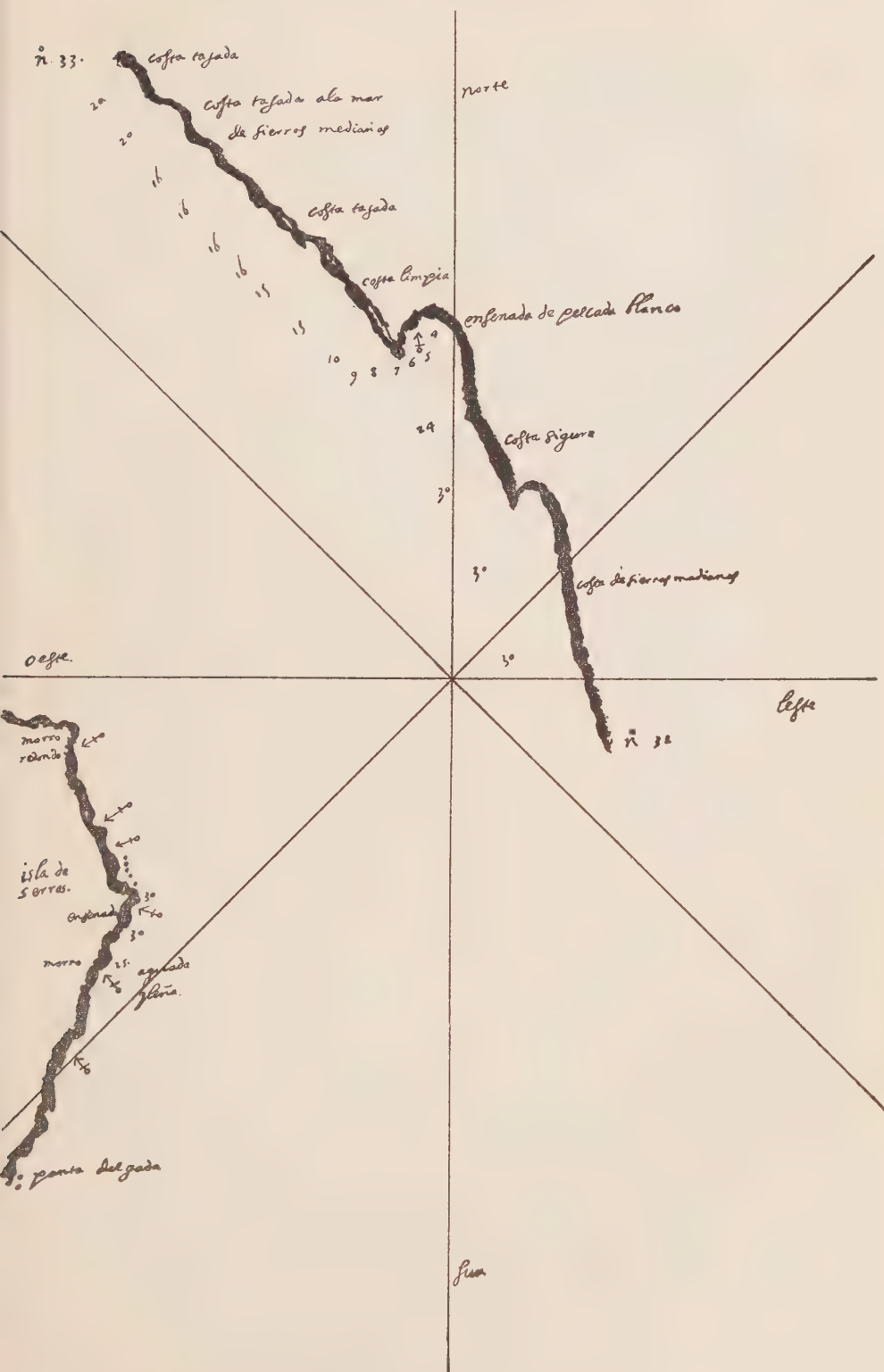
The *General* at once asked those on the *Almiranta* in what place they were, and the *Almirante* and the pilot said that they were at the Isla de Cedros, had been waiting there more than twelve days and were just leaving in search of



No. 20. Natividad and the south part of Cedros

them. At this those on the *Capitana* were surprised, as they thought it was mainland, and still more were they astonished to think of the method which Our Lord, Jesus Christ, had taken to bring them together and to let this, so much desired by all, come to pass. The *General* said they were in need of water and wood and so they went together to anchor at the place where the *Almiranta* had been [September 2].⁸⁷ He at once ordered a tent to be set up on the island for the friars to say mass in while they stayed there. He went to look at the wells where the *Almiranta* had taken water, but as it looked to him like a business of great difficulty, he sent Ensign Juan Francisco and Sergeant Miguel de Legar with twelve armed soldiers to explore the island and see if they could find a stream or spring from which water could be taken nearer the beach.⁸⁸ These at once departed and traveling about from one place to another the Sergeant found what they were looking for on the beach, two leagues distant. It was a small rivulet of water emptying into the sea, sweet, although a little turbid. He at once gave advice of this to the *General*, who issued orders to collect on board the ships immediately what was on land, and to go to anchor at the port where the water had been found. This was at once done, and they went to the place pointed out and anchored near the beach at the side of some rocks near the rivulet of water.⁸⁹ Here a tent was soon erected which served as a church where the friars said mass.

While the necessary water and wood were being taken and the men were resting and washing their clothes, the *General* gave instructions to circumnavigate the island and inspect what appeared to be an *ensenada* between the mainland and the mountain back of the Puerto de San Bartolomé; Father Antonio and the cosmographer, Gerónimo Martin Palacios, were to go in her, in order to survey and sound it. This was put into effect at once. They found that the Isla de Cedros was almost thirty leagues in circumference, and saw very large pines and cedars on the highest of the mountains, and many naked well-built Indians. These they could never attract peaceably, nor would they come to the Spaniards, but they went instead from one hill to another, shouting out and making signs to them to leave their country. Since they were so hard and intractable, the Spaniards must have committed some crime against them on other occasions. The *Fragata* then went to inspect the *ensenada*. An arm of the sea, of which the end was not visible, was seen to enter it and extend inland in an easterly direction.⁹⁰ Then they went to look over the small island named "Natividad,"⁹¹ between which and the mainland the *Almiranta* had passed. Nothing was found on it except cactus and many huge whale bones. The *Fragata* then returned to where the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* were awaiting her, and gave an account of what they had seen on the island. All celebrated the festival of the birth of the Virgin, Our Lady, with solemnity, confessed and took communion. There was a sermon and a procession with the image of Our Lady.⁹² September 9 they made sail all together and went to reconnoiter the coast of the mainland in order to follow it in quest of the Isla de Ceniças.⁹³



No. 21. Northeast Cedros and the coast to the north

CHAPTER VII, in which is treated of what happened to this fleet from the time it departed from the Isla de Cedros until it arrived at the Baia de San Simon y Judas Tadeo.

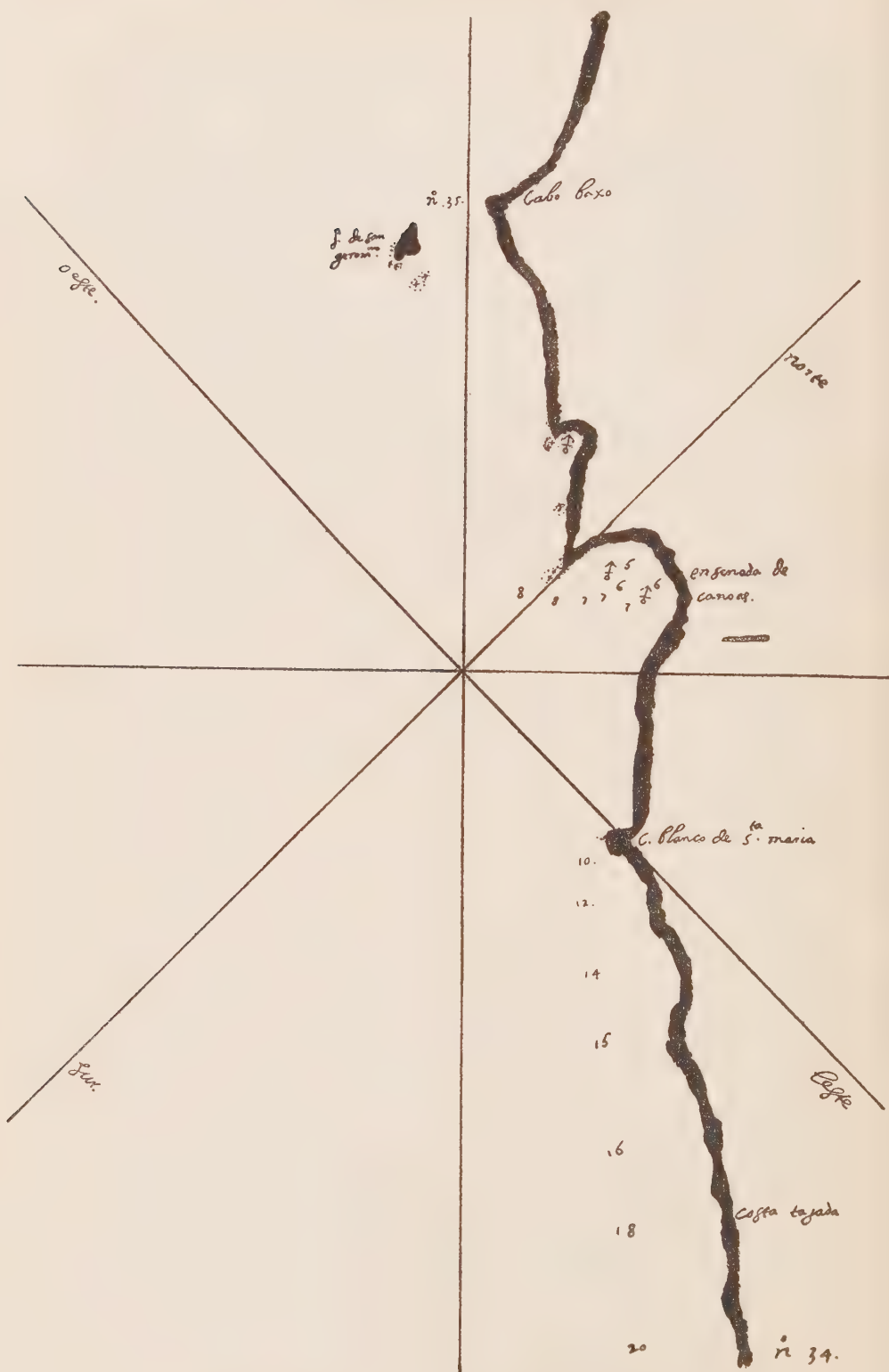
As soon as the fleet left the Isla de Cedros it went in quest of the mainland, steering northeast, and came in sight of it on the 11th. On approaching it they found it near the coast to be beautiful, flat, and of good appearance. There was a good bay which was named "San Hipólito," and here the fleet anchored.⁹⁴ The *General* ordered a party to go and inspect the country at once and see what there was in it. From the *Capitana* Captain Alarcon went with some soldiers, and from the *Almiranta* Captain Peguero with some others, carrying with them the net to cast on the way in order to get some fresh fish for all to eat. Having reached land and gone ashore, they saw that it was as described, and that it seemed to be fertile and of good climate and soil. From the sea a wide road well-used and trodden by men ran inland. They found something like a great cabin, well made and covered with fan-palm leaves, which would hold more than fifty people, all certainly of one family. With a net they caught a quantity of good delicate fish called smelts,⁹⁵ which resemble the white fish of Mechoacan, and have the taste and smell of herring when roasted, and other kinds of fish besides. Those who had gone ashore having returned to the ship and related what they had seen, the *General* ordered the voyage to be pursued and at eight o'clock at night they made sail.⁹⁶

Four leagues beyond, following the coast, they found another bay⁹⁷ which they named "San Cosme y San Damian," in which there is good shelter from the northwest wind. Near the beach there is a fine lake of fresh water, in which there were many ducks and other birds. The country is good, fertile, and level.⁹⁸ From there onward all along the coast, great fires were seen which the Indians made both by day and night, a sure sign that there were many of them in their settlements, the fires being to protect them from the great cold which the very rigorous northwest wind brings with it. This day [probably September 15] the wind blew so strong that the ships could not make headway. With great labor they reached on September 16 the foot of some high black sierras cut off at the sea which have some great plains like mesas on their tops.⁹⁹ Having arrived in sight of them on the day of San Cypriano, they were named the "Mesas de San Cypriano."¹⁰⁰ Close to this range on the southeast side there were some white bluffs on which there was a great number of Indians. The *Fragata* went with the cosmographer, Gerónimo Martin Palacios, to see what the Indians were and to survey the country. When she reached the shelter of the land, she lost the wind [September 16]. As she did not come back that night, the *Capitana* went in search of her the following day but did not find her. That day the northwest wind blew with such force that the waves reached the heavens with an abyss between them; this gale lasted more than twenty-four hours. In order not to lose ground, the *Capitana* furled her sails and lay to, beam to the sea, but the *Almiranta* did not dare to do this and came near being lost. That night was most laborious for those on the *Almiranta*, as to save herself she had to run before the

storm as best she could with her lower fore-sail and the sprit-sail.¹⁰¹ With the wind, the darkness of the fog increased so that the signal lanterns could not be seen, and thus the *Almiranta* became separated from the *Capitana* and they lost sight of each other.

When the weather cleared up one could not see the other, giving great distress to all as it was feared that the sea had swallowed up the *Almiranta* that night. The *General* made an attempt to find her by the coast, but being unsuccessful, attempted to tack; the wind however was too strong to allow this to be done. The weather improved a little on the following day and the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* rejoined each other, and regained what had been lost by the fury of the gale to as far as the neighborhood of the Mesas de San Cypriano [September 21]. Under the shelter of these, where the *Fragata* became separated from the others, the land forms a point or cape called "Cabo del Engaño." On endeavoring to double this they failed on account of the furious force of the northwest wind. With this another fog like the previous one came on, dark and so thick that a man could not see another in the waist of the ship. This made it necessary for the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* to furl their sails in order to pass the night, leaving up only the lower ones. During the great darkness and the storm they became separated and although the weather cleared up the next day and they made search, they were not able to find each other, and during many days they neither saw nor knew about each other, to the great sorrow of all.¹⁰²

The reason why there is ordinarily a gale and such a strong northwest wind at this Cabo del Engaño is because it comes contracted into a narrow passage between the Isla de Ceniças and this cape.¹⁰³ The island is eight leagues, a little more or less, away from the mainland to the west-northwest of the cape. It is divided into two parts, that is, into two high round pointed hills of equal height like the teats of a goat.¹⁰⁴ The *Almiranta* discovered this island while she was sailing around separated from the *Capitana*, but during the days that the two ships were near it they did not see it on account of the darkness caused by the fog. How it was discovered will be related farther on. I continue with the voyage of the *Capitana*. She being alone, made efforts to hunt for them, and persisted in attempting to double the Cabo del Engaño. Having neared land as much as possible, one day [September 29], the *Capitana* and the *Fragata* came together. As the *Almiranta* was not to be seen everyone was very anxious, suspecting that she had foundered in the great storm or that she had opened up with the great blows of the waves, as she was an old vessel, and that all the people on board had been drowned. On meeting the *Fragata* and desiring to find out what had happened to her, those on board related that to the northwest of the Mesas de San Cypriano and the Cabo del Engaño they had found good shelter in a bay where they had taken refuge, and had remained there during all the time that the gale lasted.¹⁰⁵ With this news the *General* with the *Fragata* went to this bay and entered it on the day of San Francisco, October 4. For this reason they named it the "Baia de San Francisco." On this day of the saint, Fathers Andrés and Tomás said mass here, and all those on the *Capitana* and *Fragata*

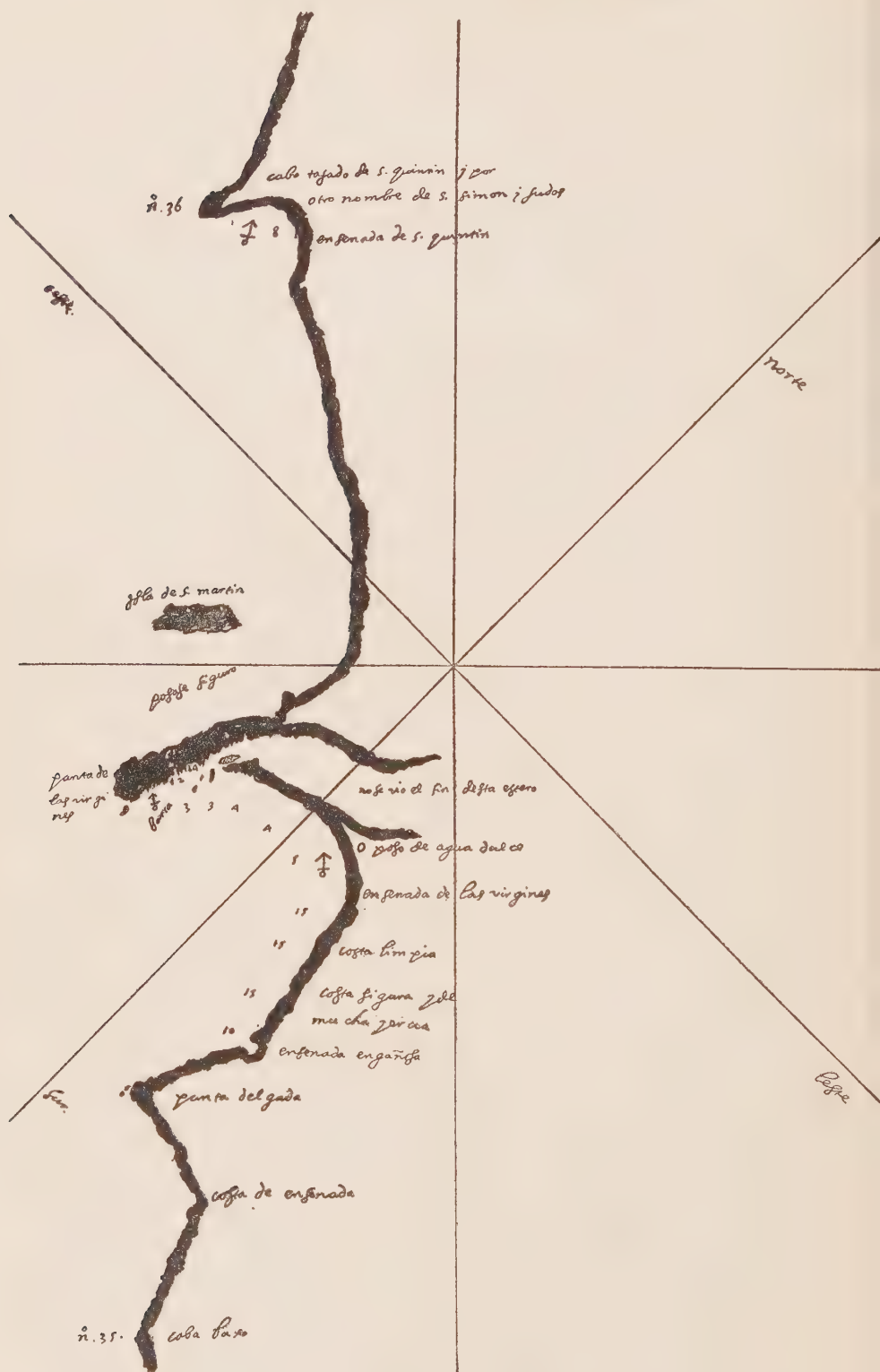


No. 22. Cabo Blanco de Santa María and San Gerónimo

confessed and took communion. Many pleasant and peaceable Indians came to see them and some horns of goats and buffaloes¹⁰⁶ were found in one of their rancherias. The country is good, level and not mountainous, and displayed signs of there being much game and many other animals about, judging from the vestiges, footprints of different forms and dung, which our people found in the fields. Those in the *Fragata* also related that farther on they had found a small island that was named "San Gerónimo."

The *Capitana* and *Fragata* departed [October 7] from this bay to continue their voyage, to see whether the *Almiranta* had gone ahead and to land at the Isla de San Gerónimo.¹⁰⁷ On reaching it they found on it much dry wood and timbers as if thrown there by the force of the waves, and many birds. They caught a great quantity of mackerel from the *Capitana* and *Fragata* with lines.¹⁰⁸ A little farther on from this island there seemed to be a large *ensenada* in which the tide entered with great force and current.¹⁰⁹ When the tide ebbed it also did so with great impetuosity. Thinking there was some great river there, the *General* ordered a party to go and see if such was the case, because, if there were and if there should be a good port inside, they could enter and wait there some days for the *Almiranta*, as if she had not been lost she could not fail to pass by very soon. They went towards it, the *Fragata* in advance sounding. She found near the bar or entrance to the *ensenada* or *estero* three fathoms of water at low tide. With this the *Capitana* did not dare to enter, remaining near by, but the *Fragata* went in and found inside of the bar a very good port. The *General* ordered Captain Alarcon to go with a dozen harquebusiers and look over the country and search for water and wood. They went and found in the *estero* a very large number of naked Indians, who were fishing from some canoes or *balsas* of reeds, which in Castile are called *yones* [*eneas*], large fat reeds which grow in fresh water lakes. When the Indians saw the Spaniards they came up to them without any suspicion in a friendly and peaceable manner, showing great joy and contentment at seeing them and giving them with affection and good will some of the fish they had caught. They at once guided them to some wells of very good water, from which they themselves drank, near by in a great thicket of willows, Spanish osiers and the reeds which they use in building their *balsas* or canoes for fishing.¹¹⁰ It was seen to be not a river, but a great *estero*, or the mouth of a river by which the tidal current entered. They came back to give an account of what they had seen and found, and all were much pleased with the news.

The *General* at once ordered a tent or hut to be set up on land, in which the friars should say mass during the days they might stay there, while waiting for the *Almiranta* to come, and while taking water and wood, fishing, resting, and washing their clothes. This was done and the Indians every morning were careful to bring them fresh fish. So great an affection did they acquire for the friars and all the Spaniards that they would not stay away from them. If they had to go to their homes near by they first went to bid them farewell and request the permission of the *General* and the friars. The Spaniards did not



No. 23. Cabo Bajo to San Quentin

molest them in the least, but instead entertained them, giving them some of the trifles which they carried. The good report of this spread among the Indians and went flying into the interior, from which a great number of Indians came. They ate what the Spaniards gave them without any fastidiousness or suspicion, and repeated whatever they heard spoken with as good a pronunciation as if they knew our language and had been brought up to speak it. Whatever they saw done, they did. The women go about with very modest looks and dress, covered from the breasts down with skins of animals, and seem to be very prolific, as each one carried two children at her breast and in her arms. These Indians trade with those inland, bringing in exchange for fish, *mescale* and other things to eat, cords for fishing, well made and twisted like twine, and net bags very well and carefully woven of fine thread and neatly twisted. They gave some of all these things to the Spaniards in exchange for colored glass, little bells and other trifles. They explained by signs that there were many people inland who wore clothes and beards and carried arms and harquebuses. Perhaps they referred to the force of Don Juan de Oñate, which was engaged in the conquest and pacification of the provinces of New Mexico, because according to the lay of the land, the climates and parallels, the variation of the meridians, and the latitude and longitude of the modern maps as interpreted by the cosmographer, Gerónimo Martin Palacios, and Father Antonio, the second cosmographer, it seemed that they must have been the Spaniards of New Mexico and that it could not be two hundred leagues from there to where these were settled in New Mexico. If perchance they were not those they must be some civilized people and different from the Indians, settled in the country which borders on the Kingdom of Quivira.

Those who have come to Mexico from the provinces of New Mexico say that the Indians of that country told them that to the west of them there were many people and large cities whose inhabitants wore clothes and that towards the north there were many others. Captain Gerónimo Marqués, who was one of the conquerors of New Mexico, and the one who had gone farthest into those countries, even so far as to come in sight of the Sea of California, gave Father Antonio an account of what he had seen and discovered in those kingdoms of New Mexico, which will be added at the end of this. He gives it to be understood that what has just now been said might be the case. It seems to me that it would produce the greatest fruit and be of great service to Our Lord, Jesus Christ, to make there a settlement of Spaniards with evangelical ministers to implant the faith and to teach the natives of that country, who would easily accept it and maintain themselves in Christianity with perseverance and firmness.

The *Capitana* and *Fragata* having been in this Baia or Puerto de Once Mil Virgenes for some days, the *General* ordered the men to be brought together and the ships to go out to sea, to see if the *Almiranta* would appear. While departing from the port and getting under way October 20, the day of the Once Mil Virgenes, they saw the *Almiranta* coming. This gave all much consolation and an unexpected pleasure, as they had not seen her in twenty-eight days and considered her lost.¹¹¹

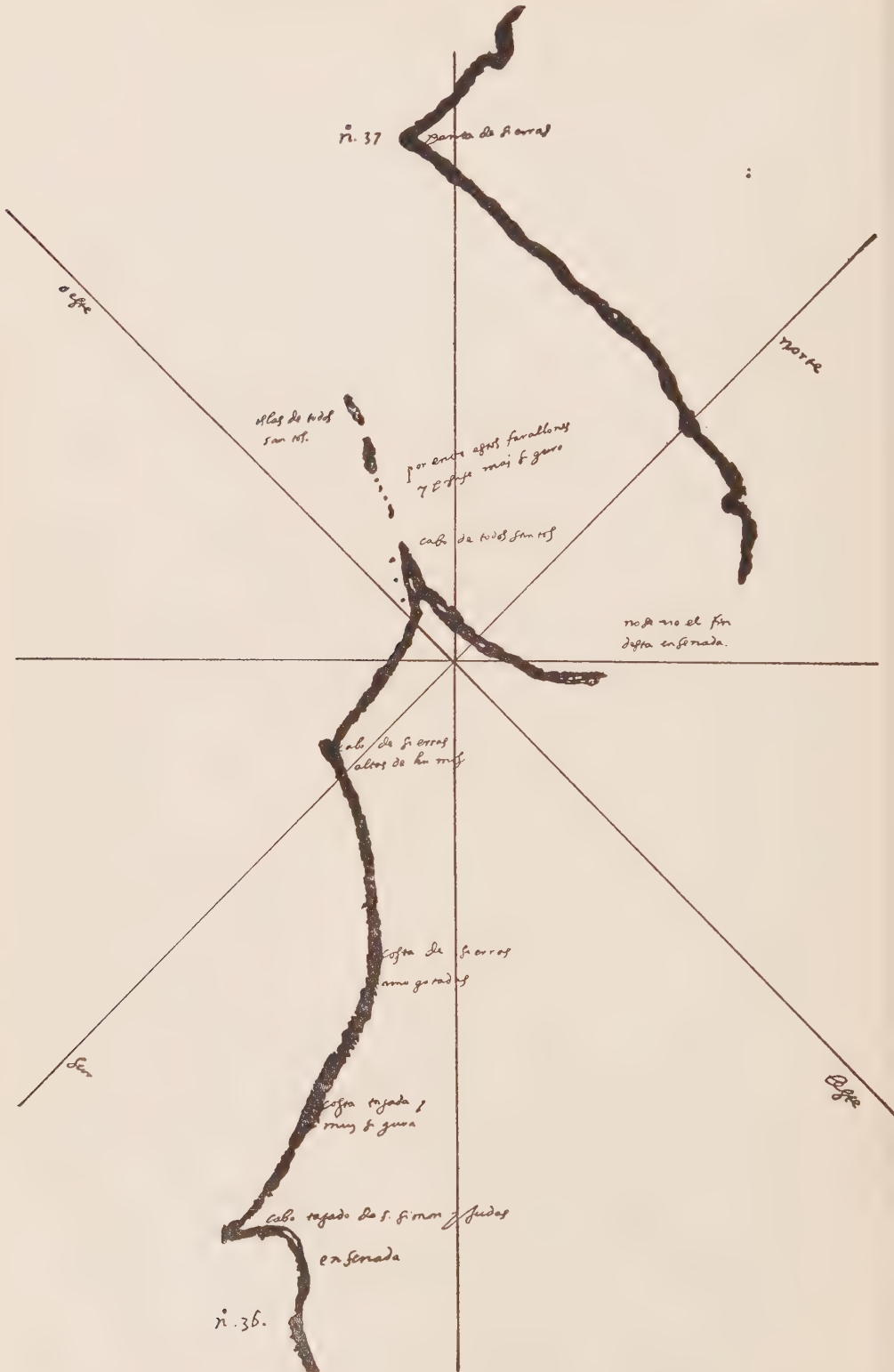
I related above how the *Almiranta* had become separated from the *Capitana* during the great gale from which they suffered near Cabo del Engaño, and I continued with what the *Capitana* had done from then until they came together again in this place. I say then that when the *Almiranta* found herself out of sight of the *Capitana*, and it was thought that she had gone back for shelter to the nearest port, it was decided to go in search of her at the ports behind. It had been agreed between them that they should seek the nearest port which they had left behind, or to leeward according to the language of sailors, in case a gale should separate them and they should lose sight of each other. Those of the *Almiranta* were of this opinion, and thinking that the *Capitana* had passed as bad a time as their ship, they therefore turned back in search of the *Capitana* on September 24, re-running and surveying all the coast, taking a look at the Baia de San Cosme y San Damian, and that of San Hipólito, until they reached again the same place at the Isla de Cedros where they had been.¹¹² Here they took water and wood anew, and not finding any trace of the *Capitana*, resumed their voyage to search for her where they had lost sight of each other. In order not to encounter another gale like the past one by sailing close to land, and in order not to see Cabo del Engaño again, they sailed five days continuously to the west. At the end of this time they found themselves some eight leagues away from a large island, which was thought to be the one the sailors from China call "Pájaros."¹¹³ Although they made every effort to land on it, it was not possible to reach it, as the strong contrary wind prevented it. Two days they spent in these efforts trying to land some men on it, but it was not possible. While in this neighborhood, as the winds were so contrary and strong and the sea reached the heavens, the waves beating fiercely on the *Almiranta* created some trouble in the main timber of the ship's nose.¹¹⁴ This rubbed a great deal and much water entered there with the great pitching of the ship, making it evident that she was about to open up and founder. In order not to perish there without any hope, they determined to return towards the mainland, so that if the ship did open up and founder the men might save themselves by being near land. When they were near this they found themselves close to the Isla de Ceniças, which they had already left behind,¹¹⁵ and which those of the *Capitana* did not see, as I have said. They did not attempt to go to it, but continued their voyage in order to reach land and see if perchance Our Lord, Jesus Christ, would grant them the favor of finding the *Capitana*. On approaching the Baia or Puerto de las Virgenes, they saw the *Capitana* and *Fragata* sailing out of it, a plain miracle which Our Master, Jesus Christ, performed on this occasion, ordaining that when one ship was arriving in such need, the other should come out to meet her to relieve her, and console those in her who had lost hope of rescue. On coming up to talk and salute each other, a welcome was given with the greatest joy, and the *General* issued an order to continue their voyage to the first port they might encounter. They passed close to a small island near the mainland and named it "San Hilarion."¹¹⁶ Following along the coast, they saw a large *ensenada* or bay, and

the *Fragata* went to look it over and sound it. They found in it good shelter from the northwest wind and many Indians, but they did not go in, in order to go on in search of a better one. Some two leagues from there the northwest wind came up with such force that it obliged them to go back to this *ensenada*,¹¹⁷ which was named "San Simon y Judas Tadeo."¹¹⁸ This was October 28, and they entered it with the intention of relieving the *Almiranta* and taking water and wood. What happened to them here I shall relate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII. *What happened in the Baia de San Simon y Judas,*¹¹⁹ *and what was discovered from there to the arrival at the Puerto de San Diego.*

Being anchored in the Baia de San Simon y Judas on the day of those holy apostles, the *General* in the morning ordered Captain Alarcon with the *Capitana's* boat with men, and Captain Peguero with the *Almiranta's* skiff with others, to go together to search for water on the mainland. They found many naked Indians on the beach, well built and with bows and arrows, somewhat insolent and bold. Our people made much of them, showing them affection and giving them some little things. The Indians pointed out some little wells among some reeds and cane from which they obtained water, and from these water was taken for the ships. As the Indians saw that our people treated them well, they concluded that they did this for fear of them, and with this thought became insolent and began to commit some excesses, reaching such a degree of incivility as to attempt to take away some little things from the Spaniards almost by force. By way of scorn and ridicule they came to the point of trying to throw their bows over the necks of some of them. They made efforts to take away the skiff of the *Almiranta* from the men who were guarding it, but these took it out to sea. Vexed at this, the Indians threw many stones at them from the beach, and to prevent this from going farther, a soldier discharged a harquebus over their heads.

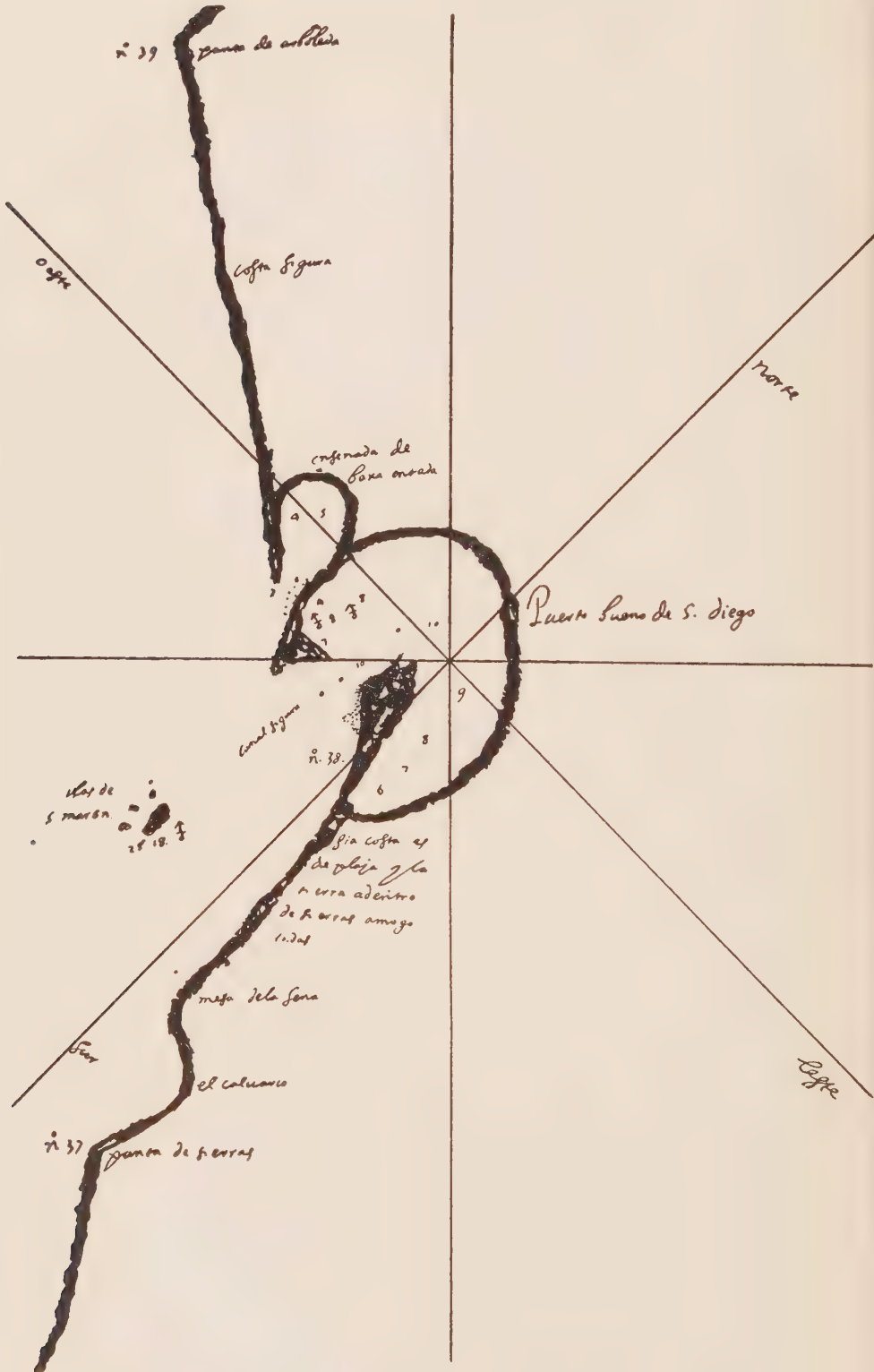
On the following day, those who had landed the day before, going in the skiff or bark of the *Almiranta* for water, Captain Peguero with six other soldiers separated from the boat of the *Capitana*, in which was Captain Alarcon, in order to land more safely and disembark where the waves were not so high. The Indians, seeing that the harquebuses had done them no harm and that those in the skiff were few in number, went to where these few Spaniards had landed and commenced to behave very badly and to be so insolent, that three soldiers, who carried their harquebuses with the matches lit, threatened them with these and told them to stop and not to come close to them as they did not wish to come to a fight. The Indians, however, in spite of this came up with such daring and incivility that they attempted to throw their bows over their necks, and did so over one of them. When the pilot of the *Fragata*, Antonio Flores, who was with the soldiers, saw this, he took his cutlass out of its sheath and with the back part cut the bow and the cord at one stroke. At this the Indians became angry and commenced to leave, placing bows to their arrows in order to shoot them at the Spaniards. When our people saw this the soldiers who had their matches lit took aim at them with their harquebuses and dis-



No. 24. Cabo San Simeon y Judas to the Punta de Sierras

charged them, as it was not fitting to allow the Indians to shoot them. At the first shot they wounded half a dozen with some small shot, slugs and balls. Finding themselves wounded, the Indians at once fled, two falling dead on the ground within a short distance. The others took these up on their backs and carried them to a small hill, in order to get away and be safe from another joke such as had just been played on them, showing themselves to be very much offended. They at once spread the news among their neighbors and friends, and within an hour more than two hundred Indians assembled, all with bows and arrows, painted and covered with feathers. Formed into a squadron, they marched against those Spaniards who had remained on shore with Captain Alarcon, who, seeing them coming, got his own men ready for them, taking advantage of the beach. When the Indians saw the harquebuses in the hands of the Spaniards, they did not dare to attack them or come very close to them, but held a consultation and decided to treat for peace. As a token of this they sent an Indian with a little dog. They then became friends, and although as friends they joined the Spaniards, they never took their eyes off the harquebuses, explaining by signs that four of them had died and others were badly wounded. They gave the Spaniards many little things to make them grateful: *martinetes*,¹²⁰ dressed marten skins, and net bags, and remained peaceable and fast friends. After this had occurred, and water and wood had been taken, our fleet sailed together from this bay Wednesday, October 29 [October 30], and went on its voyage.¹²¹

Sailing together close to land against the winds and the currents, they arrived near a large *ensenada* all surrounded by high rocks. It appeared that some arm of the sea entered by a ravine which came down through the rocks on one side or that some great river emptied there. This *ensenada* has two small islands in front of it, three leagues away, almost west of it. These were named "Todos Santos," and the *ensenada* "Santiago."¹²² With the intention of entering this, the *Fragata* went ahead, the *Almiranta* following. As it was already night, the *Capitana* could not go in after them, so she stood out to sea. Those who were in the port, seeing that the *Capitana* did not come in and was standing off, came out again to follow her so as not to lose sight of her. This was on November 5. On the following morning when it was intended to enter this *ensenada* to inspect it and look it over, a little wind came up favorable in appearance, and as it seemed to the *General* and the others that it was not wise to allow such an occasion to pass, and that they could examine it on their return, they went on their voyage. A few leagues from there, however, this wind failed them and the very strong northwest wind came up again to hinder their journey. Little by little they made their voyage, coasting along the land, on all of which many fires and smokes were seen by day and by night. These the Indians made, as if calling to the ships to come close to their country, which showed indications of being good, fertile and level and was of pleasing aspect.¹²³ Following the land, they reached some four small islands, two shaped like sugar loaves and the other two somewhat larger. These were named the "Cuatro Coronados."¹²⁴ To the



No. 25. San Diego and the adjacent coast

north of them in the mainland there is a large extended *ensenada*, all surrounded by hills which form a very fine port. This was named "San Diego."¹²⁵ In this the fleet entered November 10, on the eve of San Martin's day, at seven o'clock at night.

The following morning the *General* ordered some men to go and look over a little hill¹²⁶ which protected the port from the northwest wind. Captains Alarcon and Peguero and Father Antonio went with eight harquebusiers and found on it many live-oaks, junipers, and other trees such as rock-rose, heather, and one very similar to the rosemary. There were many fragrant medicinal and healthful herbs. From the top of the hill all that spacious *ensenada* could be clearly seen. It was a port very capacious, good, large and safe, as it was protected from all winds. This hill is about three leagues long and half a league wide, and to the northwest of it there is another good port. With this information they returned to the ships. The *General* ordered a spacious tent to be set up on shore to serve as a church where the friars could say mass every day they were there. The port was found to be so good that it was decided to clean the ships, tallow them, and repair the damage to the *Almiranta*, and that while some were occupied in this work, others should cut wood, and others take water. So to the gratification of all and with their entire agreement, the work was taken in hand by the men with good courage.

Water was taken on a large sand-bar in the middle of the *ensenada*. This was all surrounded by sea so that it appears to be a sand island. Some large holes like graves were dug in it, and when the tide was high the water which trickled into them was sweet and good and when the tide ebbed it was brackish and bad (a secret of Nature and a work of the hand of God). On placing the work in hand which the *General* had ordered, he put out some sentinels on the hill so that those who were at work could be safe and without any misgivings. One of the sentinels gave notice that many Indians were coming along the beach in a troop, all with bows and arrows, naked and painted black and white. The *General* ordered some soldiers to get their arms ready, and when the Indians saw them with arms, they did not come up to the place where the Spaniards were, but retired instead to a slope on the side of the hill. In order to bring them to peace and to quiet them, Father Antonio went to them. Following him to safeguard his person, but somewhat apart, was Ensign Juan Francisco with six harquebusiers. Before reaching the place where the Indians were, Father Antonio made signs of peace with a white cloth and by throwing sand in the air with his hands. At this the Indians kept still and Father Antonio came up to them with those who were accompanying him. The first thing the Indians did was to deliver their bows and arrows to the Father and the soldiers. He embraced them with many caresses and signs of love and gave them some bead necklaces of colored glass, cords and ribbons to put around the neck for ornament. With this they came peaceably towards the *General* and the others, but before reaching them, they saw so many people that they did not dare to come up and retired to a little hill, sending forward with the Father and the soldiers

two very old wrinkled Indian women who had more folds on their abdomens than the empty bag of a muleteer. They, with the company conducting them, came up to the *General* and the others without embarrassment or suspicion.

The *General*, the friars and soldiers entertained them, giving them some strings of glass beads and biscuit, and with these sent them away contented and happy. They told how they had been treated and what they thought of the people, which must all have been very good, for all came back with them at once to see the Spaniards. Most of them were painted black and white and wore many feather plumes on their heads. The *General* and the rest greeted them with affection and kindness, giving them many little things, and plenty of fish which were drawn out with a net in front of them. All of this they received with great pleasure. The black paint, or rather blue paint, appeared to be silvered, and on being asked by signs of what it was made, they displayed some stones of metal of London blue, from which they made it.¹²⁷ They explained by signs that it was made from those stones by people inland who were bearded and wore clothes and ornaments like the Spaniards, pointing out some ornamental braid such as some of the Spaniards wore on their jackets, and saying that they were like those. They also pointed out some mulberry-colored velvet breeches well adorned with fringes which the *General* was wearing, and said that those people wore ornaments and clothes like our Spaniards and that they looked like them and treated them very similarly. They were enraptured and came back every third day for biscuit and fish, and as they had heard the Spaniards say whenever they wished to make a cast with the net, "*Vamos a pescar a pescar*," they said when they came, "*A pescar! A pescar!*" which made us all smile. They pronounced our language very well, not a letter of our A B C failing them. Whenever they came they brought fine skins of martens, cats, seals, and other animals, net bags, and little nets with which they fished. These they presented with affection and good-will to those who gave them anything in exchange for them.¹²⁸

In this port there are many white fish called smelts, skates, oysters, mussels, sardines, lobsters, and center-fish, and in the *esteros* there are many white and brown geese,¹²⁹ ducks, quail, hares, and rabbits. On the beach of the sand-bar I mentioned there was a great quantity of sparkling golden pyrites, I mean that they sparkle like spangles, a sure sign that there must be gold mines in the mountains. On the same sand-bar from which the water was taken, there were some great large pieces like cow dung, very light in weight, of reddish and brown color and shaped like adobes; some said they were pieces of amber. If so, there is plenty of it and a very great quantity can be brought away with much ease. The country surrounding the port is very fertile and level and near the beach there are very fine meadows. The *General* and Father Antonio with other soldiers made a turn around all the *ensenada* and looked over the country. They were pleased to see its fertility and good character, but what gave them the greatest pleasure was the extensiveness, capacity and security of the port, its good depth and its many fish. Having finished the proposed work,

an order was given to leave the port and continue the voyage.¹³⁰ They departed November 20, Wednesday, all on board the fleet having confessed and taken communion before embarking. There were many sick among the men, and some had already died, Ensign Juan de Açevedo having been the first to pass away on this voyage.

CHAPTER IX, *in which is treated of what happened to the fleet from the Puerto de San Diego to the arrival at the Puerto de Monterey.*

From the time the fleet sailed from the Puerto de San Diego in pursuit of its voyage, the northwest wind, the king and absolute master of this sea and coast, commenced its work anew. It was as strong as usual, and they went on the bowline, making headway little by little with great labor, until they came in sight of an *ensenada*.¹³¹ The country surrounding this was very verdant, and the Indians made many smokes and fires, apparently signals for the ships to enter. On coming to look it over, no place was found where the ships could anchor and be safe from the northwest wind, and so they passed on. A few leagues farther, they saw a large island, almost twelve leagues away from the mainland, and went to inspect it. This was the day of the martyr Santa Catalina, and for this reason it was named "Santa Catalina." They anchored near it November 28 [November 25], but before reaching it another very much larger island southwest of it was seen, but as this was somewhat distant, they left it to be explored on the return.¹³² As the ships were approaching the Isla de Santa Catalina to cast anchor, the Indian inhabitants began to raise smokes on the beach, and when they saw they had anchored, the women, children, and old men began to shout and make demonstrations of joy in proof of their happiness. They came running to the beach to receive the guests who were arriving.¹³³

As soon as the ships anchored¹³⁴ and the sails were furled, the *General* ordered the *Almirante* to go ashore and take with him Father Antonio, Captain Peguero with some soldiers from the *Capitana*, and Captain Alarcon with twenty-four soldiers, all armed with harquebuses and with their matches lit, to see what the Indians wanted, what there was in the island, and to bring back the information at once. When those who were with the *Almirante* landed, many old men, women, and children came up with much familiarity, friendship and affability, just as if they had seen Spaniards before. Our people asked them by signs for water. They at once brought a rush barrel full of water, which was good, and said that the spring from which they took it was somewhat distant. With this news they returned to the ships to pass the night. The following day the *General* ordered a tent to be set up on land in which Fathers Andrés and Antonio should say mass, Father Tomás being now sick. Then all went to hear mass. On this occasion a great number of young Indians had assembled, well built and robust, all naked. The day before these had been fishing in some small well-made canoes of boards fastened together, with their poops and bows like barks.¹³⁵ Some of these canoes were so large that they would hold more than twenty people. In the small ones there are ordinarily three when they go fishing, two men with their paddles and two-bladed oars, seated or on their

knees, one in the stern and the other in the bow, and a boy between to throw out such water as the canoe might make. They paddle on one side and the other in such unison and concert that they go flying.

That the reader may have some relief, I shall refer here briefly to what was seen among these Indians and on this island. The method these Indians employ in fishing is pleasing and easy. In the island there are many elder trees, which grow some long slender poles the Indians use for their fishing, as our people do harpoons. At the end of the pole they fasten a harpoon made of fishbone, and to this they tie firmly a long strong line like twine. Carrying these in their canoes, when they see in the bottom near the canoes some large fish or one of reasonable size, they strike them with these harpoons. When this is fast to the fish, they give it the line if it is a large one, and follow it little by little nearing the beach, where they finish by killing it and drawing it on land. The small ones they at once raise into the canoe. With this artifice the Indians capture very large fish and many seals. The latter they make use of for food and as a protection for their flesh when they suffer from cold, and the women cover themselves with them from the breasts down. These are well featured and well built, of good countenance and eyes and modest in their looks and behaviour. The boys and girls are white and blonde, and all are affable and smiling. These Indians and those of the islands make use for their living quarters of some houses made like cabins. They cover these with a mat of rushes very closely woven, something like Moorish mats, which they set up on some great upright forked poles. They are so spacious that each will hold fifty people. I think that a family lives in each one. As the houses are portable, they remove them to other places whenever it seems advisable. Neither rain nor the sun penetrates them. The vessels and pitchers in which they keep water are made of reeds. In the island there is a great quantity of something like potatoes, and small *xicamas*,¹³⁶ which the Indians carry to the mainland to sell. They live by buying, selling and bartering. They showed us some pieces of blue metal with which they paint themselves like the one I spoke of before. In this island and in those near by there are many Indians and many settlements and houses like those described.

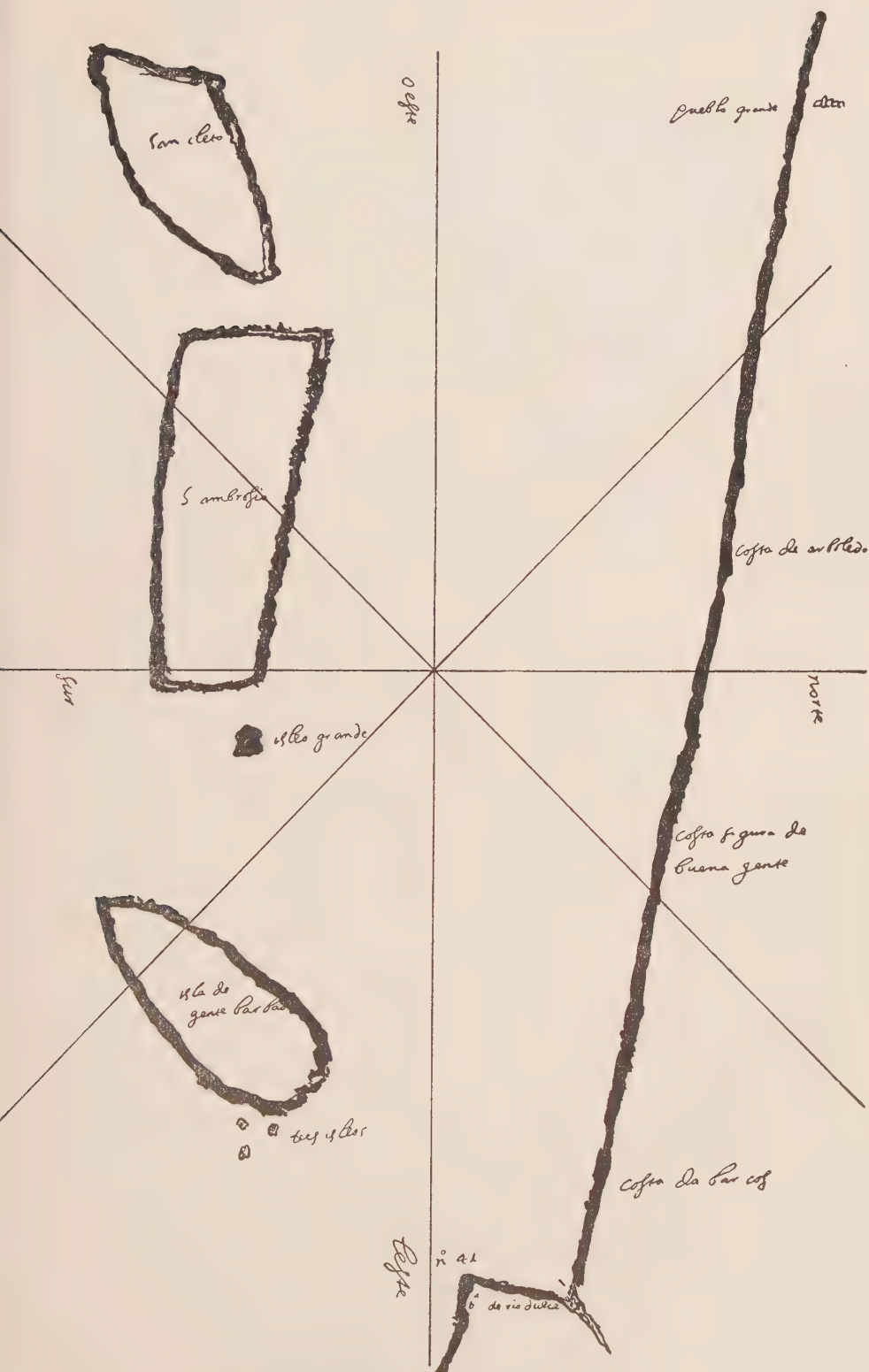
The soldiers ran all over the island and in one part of it fell in with a place of worship or temple where the natives perform their sacrifices and adorations. This was a large flat patio and in one part of it, where they had what we would call an altar, there was a great circle all surrounded with feathers of various colors and shapes, which must come from the birds they sacrifice. Inside the circle there was a figure like a devil painted in various colors, in the way the Indians of New Spain are accustomed to paint them. At the sides of this were the sun and the moon. When the soldiers reached this place, inside the circle there were two large crows larger than ordinary ones, which flew away when they saw strangers, and alighted on some near-by rocks. One of the soldiers, seeing their size, aimed at them with his *harquebus*, and discharging it, killed them both. When the Indians saw this they began to weep and display great emotion.

In my opinion, the Devil talked to them through these crows, because all the men and women hold them in great respect and fear. I saw with my own eyes some Indian women cleaning some fish on the beach for food for themselves and their husbands and children. Some crows came up to them and took this out of their hands with their bills, while they remained quiet without speaking a word or frightening them away, and were astonished to see the Spaniards throw stones at them.¹³⁷

All around the island there are good ports and shelters in which any ships can anchor. In the sea there is a great quantity of fish, such as sardines, smelts, lobsters, center-fish, skate, and many others. There are partridges, quail, rabbits, hares, and deer. The Indians have many dogs of medium size and of good appearance like our spotted retrievers, only they do not bark, but howl like coyotes. The Indians are affable and friendly and eager to know what is going on, for when they saw some soldiers praying with their rosaries, they came up to them and asked for them in order to do the same, saying "Vis, vis," words they thought the soldiers were muttering. They are very light-fingered and clever, and in stealing anything and in putting it in safety are ingenious. If it were not for being prolix in this chapter, I would relate here some of their transactions with us; I believe that they beat the gypsies in cunning and dexterity. Many of them wished to go with us, but this did not seem advisable, and so they were made to leave the ships and remain in their country.

What has been related having passed, and all the island having been examined, the fleet sailed December 1, with the intention of examining other islands near by and sailing over to the mainland to continue inspecting and charting it.¹³⁸ From this island a line of islands large, small and of medium size runs on four or six leagues apart. They are all well settled with Indians who trade and communicate with each other and with those on the mainland. From the first to the last they must continue for more than a hundred leagues,¹³⁹ one after the other as the coast of the mainland trends. Between them and the mainland there is a very good and safe passage, so wide that in places it measures twelve leagues and at the least eight. This passage is named "La Canal de Santa Barbara" and extends from east to west. When those who came from China passed in view of these islands, they never thought them to be islands, because they were so close together, and therefore they kept away from them. We passed between them and the mainland as I have stated.

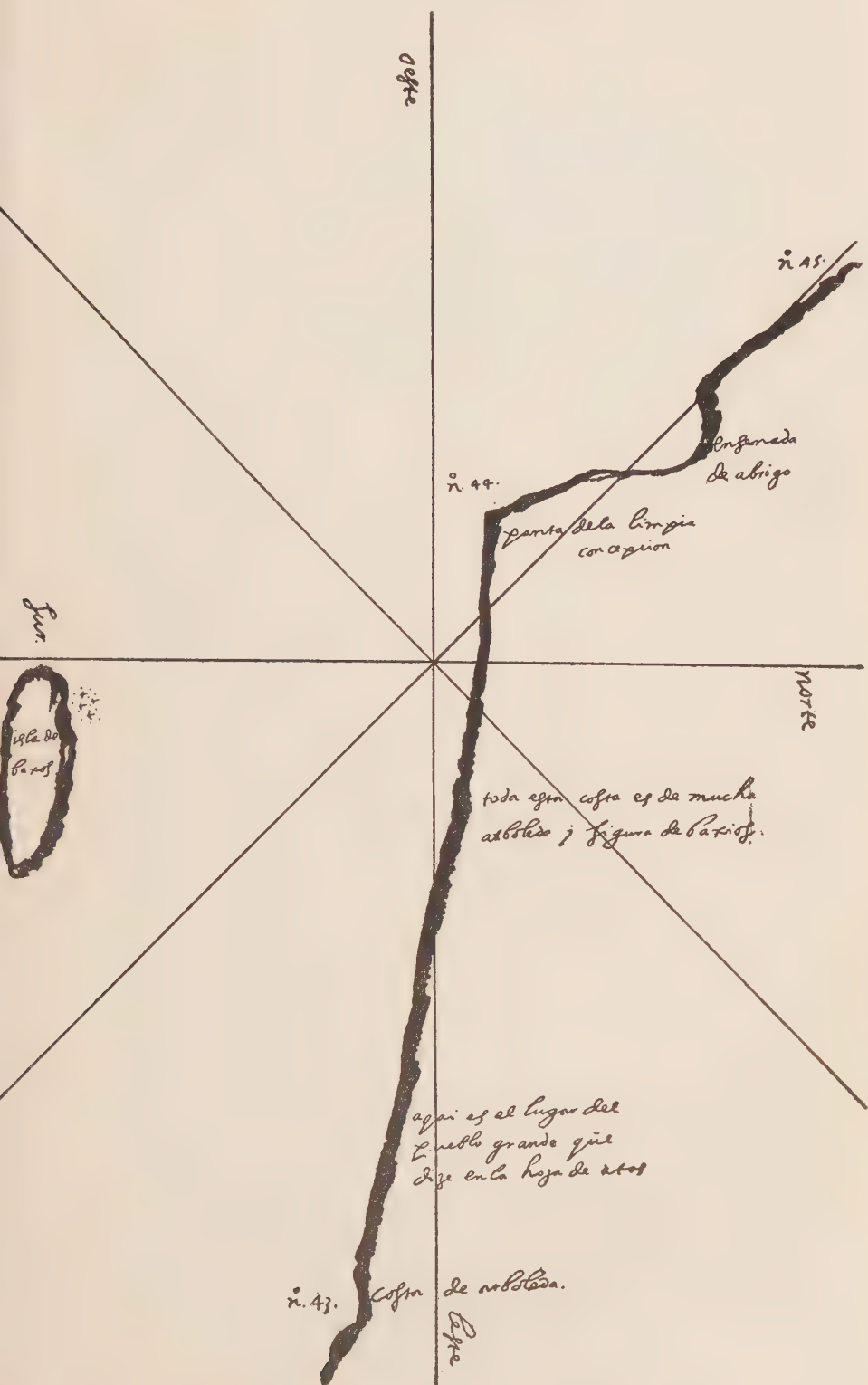
When the fleet was in sight of the mainland, and near one of the islands, which was named "Santa Barbara,"¹⁴⁰ the first of the channel, a canoe came flying out from the mainland with four men propelling it. Aboard was an Indian with his son and other Indians who accompanied him, who gave us to understand that he was the king or lord of that country. This canoe came up to the *Capitana*, and with great assiduity and swiftness made three turns around it, all those on board singing in their language in the manner and the tone in which the Indians of New Spain sing in their *mitotes*, or dances. They then came up to the ship and the principal Indian or petty king, grasping the end



No. 27. The Channel Islands and the coast opposite

of the rope which was passed to them, came aboard without any suspicion or fear whatever, and the first thing he did on entering the ship was to make another three turns around the waist, singing in the same tone. This ceremony being concluded, standing before the *General* and the rest, he commenced a long harangue in his language, of which we could understand not a word. Having finished this, he explained by intelligible signs that the people of the Isla de Santa Catalina had notified him by four posts in canoes that the ships had arrived there and that the people on board wore clothes and beards and were kind-hearted and of good demeanor, having entertained them and given them many things, and that he should come to see us. By reason of this news he had come there to offer his country and what entertainment he could supply if we wished to receive it. He begged and prayed us to come to the shore with the ship, saying that he would provide us with everything necessary. As he did not see any woman on the ship, he asked by signs if we had any, pointing to his private parts and giving us clearly to understand what he wished to say. The *General* told him he did not have any, nor were they necessary. The Indian then importuned the *General* with more energy for all to go ashore, promising to give each one ten women to serve them and entertain them. At this all of us laughed very much and the chief, thinking that we were deriding him, and that we thought he would not do what he promised, renewed his offers, and asked the *General* to send ashore a soldier in the canoe in which he had come to see with his own eyes if it was true that he could comply with what he had promised, saying that he would remain as a hostage with his son while the soldier went and returned to inform himself about the truth of it.¹⁴¹ The *General* held a council about this,¹⁴² and it was decided that as it was already night nothing should be done until the following day, but that when it was dawn, some should go ashore to see if there was a safe and commodious port where the ships could remain at anchor, and if there was one, they would go there, and that the Indian should go back to his country that night to make the necessary arrangements. With this they dismissed him, the *General* having given him some things. He went away well paid and contented with the good behaviour and kindness which he saw in those whom he expected to have as guests on the following day, and to get something ready with which to entertain them.¹⁴³

Within an hour after the chief had gone back to his country a southeast wind came up, one they had not enjoyed before in all the time they had been sailing. As it was a stern wind it seemed to the *General* and the others that they should take advantage of the opportunity which Our Lord had provided, and that on the return voyage they could come back to see what the Indian chief wanted and had promised. With this they raised the sails on the ships and all that night the sailing was greatly to their liking. This southeast wind began to blow at seven o'clock on the night of December 3, the day of Santa Barbara, and lasted until eight o'clock the following morning.¹⁴⁴ At that hour the ships were already almost at the last islands of the channel. These are six in number, two or three leagues apart, and the channel must be about thirty leagues long.¹⁴⁵ The coast



No. 28. From Santa Barbara to Pt. Sal

of the mainland is beautiful and full of trees and all along there are many settlements of affable and inoffensive Indians.¹⁴⁶ On the night of the day of Santa Barbara, the northwest wind came up with such great force as to cause great anxiety to all, because the sea rolled heavily in the channel, and it was night and we were between islands so close together. Even greater was the fear we had of striking on some islands, or on some of the many reefs near them.

This rough weather lasted that night and the two following days.¹⁴⁷ On the day of San Nicolas the wind died down and little by little the ships went on their voyage.¹⁴⁸ In this place the *Fragata* was lost from sight among the islands. Coming to enjoy some good weather, the ships emerged from between the islands and approached the coast of the mainland to examine and map it. They saw it to be very high and mountainous, and noted some *ensenadas*. From one of these four rush canoes came out together, each containing two naked Indians, and came straight to the ships. On reaching them they presented a quantity of fish they had with pleasure and liberality, especially many sardines, salted or seasoned with salt, which they use for bait for other larger fish for which they are accustomed to fish with some hooks of cactus spines tied to some good lines like twine. They spoke not a word, as if they were dumb, and by signs explained what they wanted. They were taller, stronger and better built than others we have previously seen in other places, and wear some goatskins with which they cover their private parts. They were given something to eat and wear and went back to their country very contented. These Indians showed signs of much intelligence and of being docile, and of not being thieves, nor did they wish to take anything unless they first gave something for it.¹⁴⁹

The fleet passing onward, on the following day other Indians came, and almost the same thing happened with them as with those just mentioned. It seemed that they were all dumb and of the same tribe. With forceful signs they begged the ships to go to their land, offering to furnish much entertainment in the way of fish and acorns, which seemed to be their ordinary food. Their good will was appreciated and with some little things which were given them, such as bead necklaces, clothes, and food, they went away to their country, joyful and contented at having seen people such as they had never seen before.¹⁵⁰ At this place the *Fragata* appeared and joined the ships, being well received. Those on board told how the Indians in the other islands had entertained them with fish and acorns, and said there were many people in them.¹⁵¹ As soon as she arrived, the *General* ordered her to go along close to the coast and look carefully to see if there were any port, since the land was obscured by a thick fog or mist.¹⁵² Here a little wind came up favorable to our sailing and lasted fourteen hours.¹⁵³ On Saturday, December 14, the day cleared up a little and they found themselves near a very white high sierra, all reddish on the sides and covered with many trees. It is named the Sierra de Santa Lucia and is the one which ships from the Philippines ordinarily sight.¹⁵⁴ Four leagues beyond¹⁵⁵ a river which comes down from some high white sierras covered with snow enters the sea from between some rocks. Its banks are all full of high large

trees, white and black poplars, very straight and large, willows, alder trees, blackberries, and others like those of Castile. It is called the "Río del Carmelo."¹⁵⁶ Two leagues beyond is a fine port, between which and the river there is a forest of pine trees more than two leagues across. This land makes a point almost at the entrance of the port, which was named "Punta de Pinos."¹⁵⁷ The fleet entered this port December 16¹⁵⁸ in order to despatch an advice ship from there to New Spain to tell the Viceroy all that had been seen and discovered up to that point. The port was named "Monterey," in honor of the Conde de Monterey, the viceroy who had sent them on the exploration.¹⁵⁹

CHAPTER X, in which is treated of what the fleet did in the Puerto de Monterey and of the departure from there for Cabo Mendocino.

December 16 when the fleet entered the Puerto de Monterey, it was already night. The following day the *General* ordered the necessary things to be taken ashore, so that Father Andrés and Father Antonio could say mass every day while they had to remain. This was done, and a large capacious tent was set up under the shade of a very large live-oak to serve as a church.¹⁶⁰ At twenty paces from this there was an arroyo or ravine in which were some holes of good water, into which trickled all that was necessary for the men in the fleet. The friars said the Mass of the Holy Ghost, so that the *General* and those of his council might have the wisdom to order and provide what was most agreeable to the service of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and of the King. After having heard mass, a council was assembled¹⁶¹ and the question was propounded in it whether it was advisable to send from there an advice to the viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de Monterey, of what had been seen and discovered; secondly, if so, with what ship it should be sent and also what could be done to relieve the numerous sick in the ships, many of whom had already died, while others were dying each day without any remedy, unless it was what God might send from heaven. There was now scarcely one who could say he was entirely sound and perfectly well, and the matter being closely investigated, no one was found who could even manage the sails of the ships. The pilot of the *Almiranta* and his assistant and master could not move from their beds; the chief pilot and his assistant, the master, could not stand; Father Tomás de Aquino had been sick for many days, and among all the rest of the men, soldiers, sailors, and ships' boys, there were deaths each day. When they entered this port they had already consigned to the deep sixteen of all conditions. What was determined in the council was that the *Almirante* with the *Almiranta* should return from there to New Spain, as an advice ship, and that with him should go the pilot Juan Pascual with his assistant, the master of the ship, Baltazar de Armas, and that the sick should be put in her, and with them Father Tomás so that he might confess them and administer to them the sacraments the best that he could. It was also ordered that the food in the *Almiranta* be taken out of her and put on the *Capitana*, leaving in her what seemed necessary for those who were to go in her, and that she be given the necessary sailors to navigate her to the Puerto de Acapulco, the rest of the men who were well and with some strength being divided between the *Capitana* and the *Fragata*.

All this was agreed to by the council, and the *General* ordered it to be put into effect with diligence and care. It was so done, and a copy of everything which had been seen and discovered was made, as well as a sea chart, on which all the coast was laid down with its ports, *ensenadas*, and islands, as they had been explored, so that the Viceroy might have full information about everything and could send it to His Majesty in Spain, in order that what had been discovered might be known, in case those who were left in the *Capitana* and *Fragata* to finish what still remained to be discovered up to the latitude of 42° should be wrecked or die on the voyage. While these matters were being arranged, Fathers Andrés and Antonio gave an order for all the men in the fleet well or sick to confess and take communion. When this had been done they carried the sick on the *Almiranta* and with them Father Tomás, who was the sickest of all, administering extreme unction to those who seemed to be at the point of death, since Father Tomás could not do so on the journey. Those who were to steer the ship having been assigned, and everything that seemed to be necessary for the voyage having been provided, the *General* delivered to the *Almirante* all the certified copies of what had been seen and discovered, and wrote the Viceroy what he intended to do, asking him to send him recruits and food, for which he would wait at the Cabo de San Lucas at the beginning of May, 1603, and pointing out what he should send, so that on the return he could explore the Sea of California.¹⁶² With this the *Almiranta* was despatched to New Spain. She sailed from the Puerto de Monterey, December 29, 1602, and commenced her voyage to New Spain, leaving the *Capitana* and *Fragata* ready to depart from the port to go in search of Cabo Mendocino and finish making the exploration.

Every year when those who sail from the Philippines to New Spain come in sight of the neighborhood of Cabo Mendocino or in that latitude,¹⁶³ a very severe sickness seizes them. Scarcely a man escapes from suffering greatly from it. It is this which causes the death of almost all those who die on that route, there being years when hardly a person is left on the ships to manage the sails or bring them to the port of destination. This sickness attacked almost all those of this fleet, those who had died before reaching the Puerto de Monterey, those who had been sick and the sick who were now put on board the *Almiranta*. As it seems that those who read this account might be pleased to know and understand its quality, character and effects, it appears to me not inappropriate to here give an account of it, for one reason to make it known how much those who went on this voyage suffered in the service of the King, our master, and for the other in order that the severe hardships which those suffer who come from China to New Spain, and the difficulty of the return voyage from there, may be known, so that there may not be so much desire to make it. From the latitude of 30° upward not only on those who come from China in search of Cabo Mendocino, on their way to New Spain, but on those who are going from New Spain to Cabo Mendocino, a very sharp, subtle and cold wind blows, which passes through thin men. It must carry with it much pestilence, and if in itself the air is not bad, it produces with its subtlety and coldness some

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corruption of bad humours, especially in persons worn out and fatigued with the hardships of the navigation. The first symptom they notice is a pain in the whole body which makes it so sensitive that whatever touches it causes so much vexation and peevishness that there is no relief except with cries and groans. After this, all the body, especially from the waist down, becomes covered with purple spots larger than great mustard seeds. Then from this bad humour some strips or bands come behind the knee joints, two fingers and more wide like wales, and of the same blue or purple color, which extend through the thigh to the calves of the legs. These become as hard as stones, and the legs and the thighs become so straight and stiff with them that they cannot be extended or drawn up a degree more than the state in which they were when attacked. Then all the leg and thigh become purple, and after this it extends and spreads over the whole body, attacking mostly the shoulders. With this the whole body becomes stiff, and sore as a boil. It attacks the back and the kidneys so that one cannot move or turn from one side to the other, being just as if in shackles. All is groans and cries, and there is no other consolation except to ask God to help one or take one away from this life, as the bodies of which this cursed humour takes possession come to such a pass that they are like one whole tumor or carbuncle very highly inflamed.

The sensitiveness of the bodies of these sick people is so great that the very clothing put on them to cover them is felt like sharp darts or cruel lances, and as the poor people cannot move or turn from one side to the other, they emit cries so pitiful that they reach the heavens. If their shipmates or those who are nursing them come to their assistance, their pains are doubled when they feel them coming close to their bodies, so that the best aid which can be rendered them is not even to touch the bedclothes. Not only is it this which this sickness and pestilential humour produces in these human bodies, but it also brings on other results more insufferable and loathsome, namely that the upper and lower gums of the mouth in the inside of the mouth and outside the teeth, become swollen to such a size that neither the teeth nor the molars can be brought together. The teeth become so loose and without support that they move while moving the head. There have been persons who in expectorating spat out unexpectedly a couple of teeth at a time. With this they cannot eat anything but food in liquid form or drinks, and so some are given paps, others biscuit, sugar and spice boiled together, others almond milk and others things of this character, as otherwise they could not introduce anything into the stomach to sustain themselves. Those who are attacked by this disease come to be so weakened in this condition that their natural vigor fails them, and they die all of a sudden, while talking. Of this disease die those who come from China as well as did more than forty of this fleet, but Our Lord, Jesus Christ, was pleased that all passed away after having confessed and received extreme unction, and the most of them the Holy Eucharist, having made their wills, arranged for the welfare of their souls and discharged their consciences.¹⁶⁴

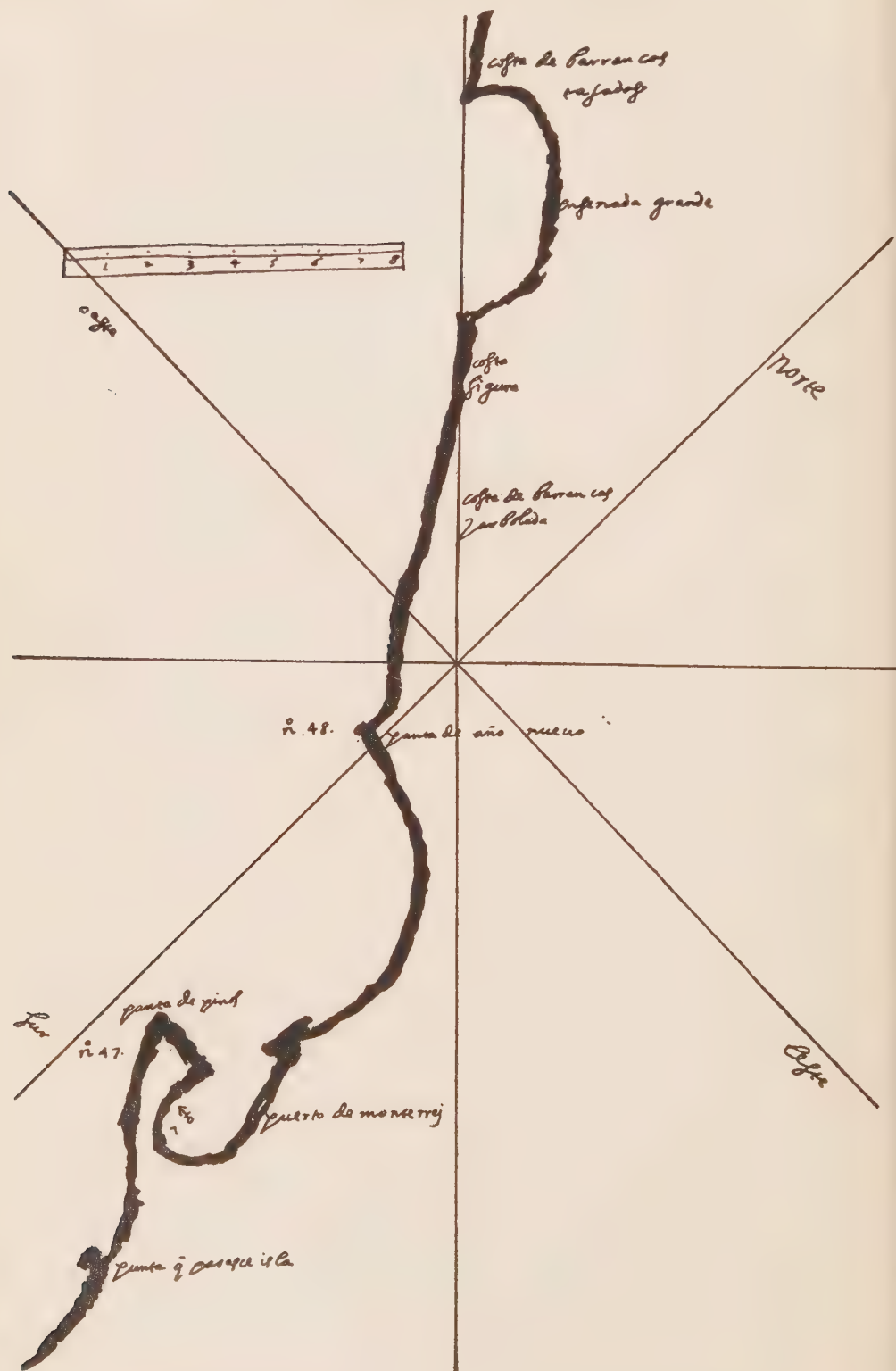
Returning to the subject of which we were treating, the doings of this fleet in the Puerto de Monterey before we left there, it will be well to give here a

truthful account of this port and its qualities, and of what was seen there. It is a very good port and well protected from all winds. There is much wood and water in it and an immense number of great pine trees, smooth and straight, suitable for the masts and yards of ships; many very large live-oaks with which to build ships; great white oaks, and forests of great scarlet oaks. There are rock-roses, broom, roses of Castile, brambles, willows, alders, poplars, and other trees like those of Castile. There are springs of good water; beautiful large lakes, which were covered with ducks and many other birds; most fertile pastures; good meadows for cattle, and fertile fields for growing crops. There are many different kinds of animals, and large ones such as bears, so large that their feet are a good third of a yard long and a hand wide. There are other animals which have hoofs like mules (some said they were those of elks), of which there must be a great number, as the fields were full of their tracks. There are others as large as three-year-old bulls, resembling stags in their build. Their hair was like that of a *ravicano*,¹⁶⁵ and almost a quarter of a yard long. Their neck was long, and on the head they had very large branching horns like those of a stag. Their tail must have been a yard in length and half a one wide, and their hoofs were cleft like those of an ox. Pliny in his Eighth Book, Chapter XXXIV of his Natural History, called this animal a *Tirando*, and speaks of it in the following terms:

The *tirando* is of the size of an ox, its head is larger than that of a stag, and not very unlike it. The horns are branching and the hoofs cleft. The hair is long like that of a bear, but when it wishes it can take on the color of an ass. The hide on the shoulders is so hard that cuirasses are made out of it to protect the breast. When it is frightened, it takes on the color of all the trees, shrubs, flowers and places in which it hides itself, for which reason it is seldom killed in the hunt. How remarkable it is that the hair of this animal being so smooth and lustrous can suffer this change, or that its fear has the power to dye the hair with a new color. This animal is found in countries very far north.¹⁶⁶

So much for Pliny.

There are many of these animals here, and besides them there are large deer, stags, jackrabbits, and rabbits, and wild-cats as large as kids. There is an abundance of ducks of all kinds, geese, doves, thrushes, sparrows, linnets, cardinals, quail, partridges, magpies, cranes, and buzzards, all like those of Castile. There are some other birds of the shape of turkeys, the largest I saw on this voyage. From the point of one wing to that of the other it was found to measure seventeen spans (more than a yard).¹⁶⁷ There are curly-jacks, gulls, crows and many other sea-birds which live on the fish they catch. In this port there are many good fish in the sea, and among the rocks there are many *lapas*¹⁶⁸ and mussels, and at depth attached to the rocks are some very large shells of fine mother-of-pearl, very beautiful and of a very fine color.¹⁶⁹ There are oysters, lobsters, crabs and *burgaos* among the rocks, and many large seals, or sea-calves, and whales. One very large one recently dead had gone ashore on the coast in this port and the bears came by night to dine on it. The port is all surrounded by settlements of affable Indians of good disposition and well built, very willing to give what they have. They brought us some of the skins of bears, lions, and deer. They use bows and arrows and have their form of government. They are naked. They would have much pleasure in seeing us make a



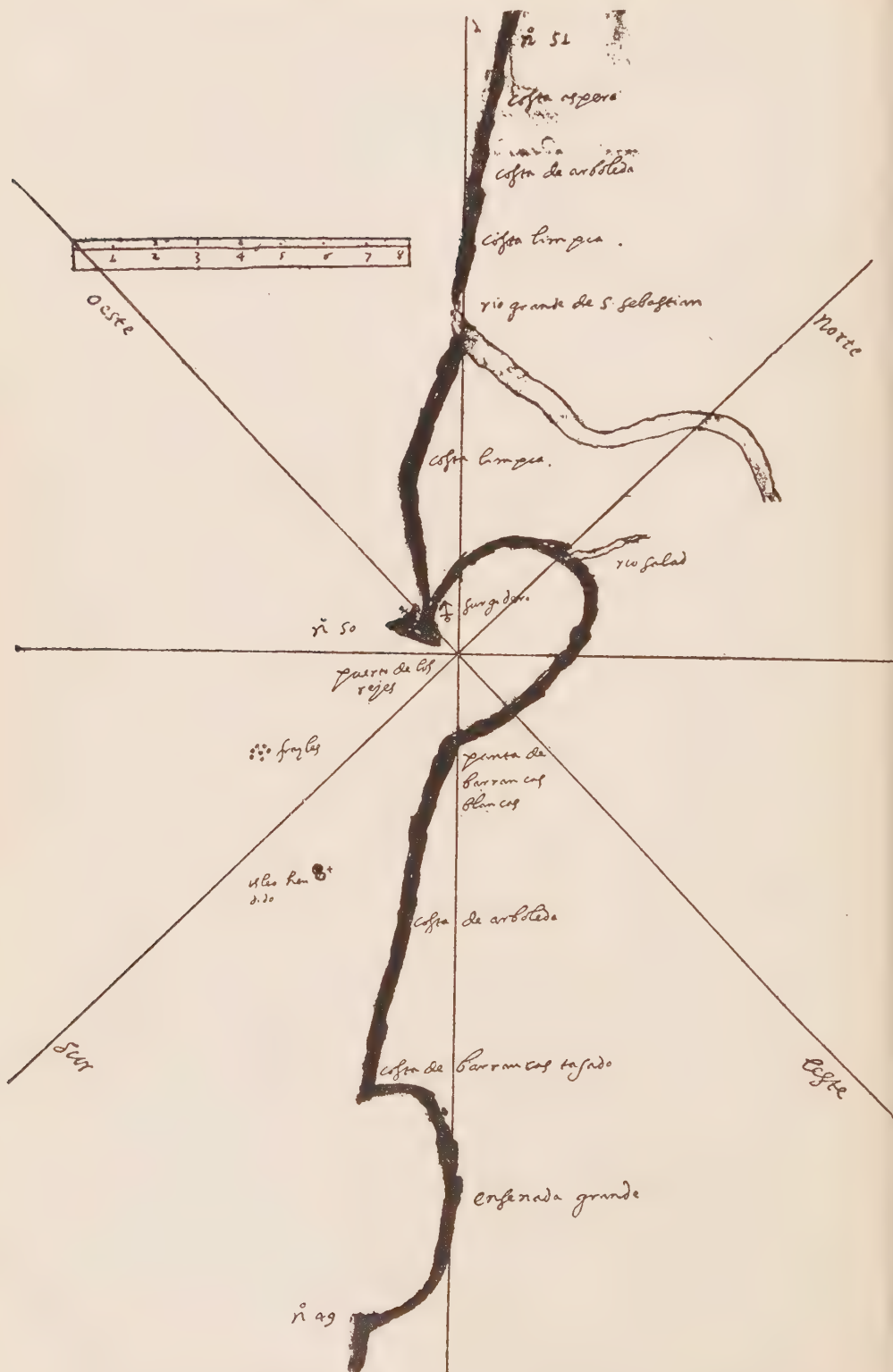
No. 30. Monterey to Pillar Point

settlement in their country.¹⁷⁰ Those who come from China in need of relief could very well resort to this port. It is in the same region and parallel of latitude as Seville, and is of almost the same climate. The Spaniards could settle here as an assistance to those sailing from China, as it is of the climate and quality of our Spain. As soon as the *Almiranta* had sailed for New Spain, the *Capitana* and *Fragata* departed, January 3, 1603, to finish making the exploration as far as Cabo Mendocino.¹⁷¹

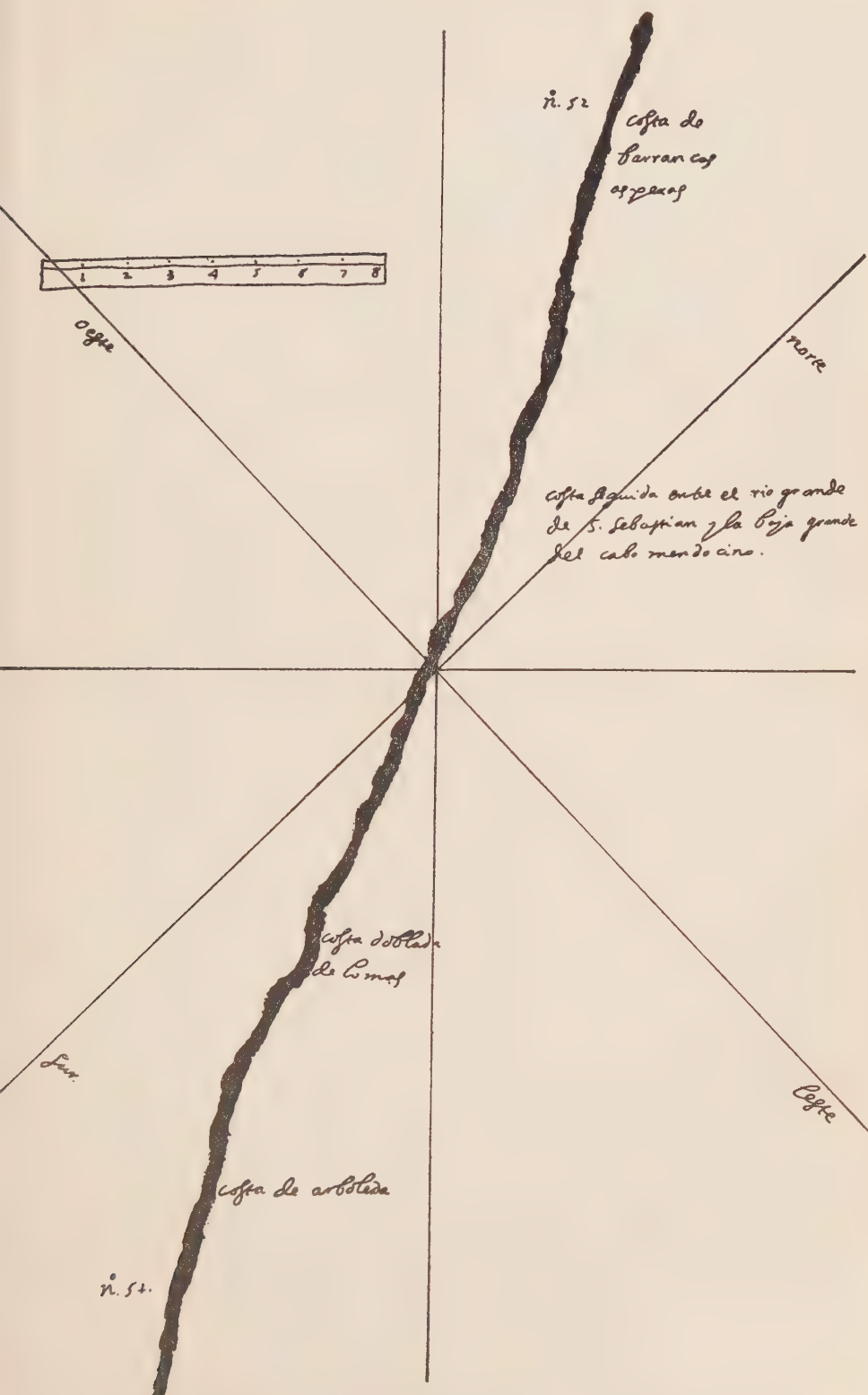
CHAPTER XI, in which is treated of what happened to the *Capitana* and *Fragata* from the time they departed from the Puerto de Monterey until they reached Cabo Mendocino.

As soon as they sailed from the Puerto de Monterey in search of Cabo Mendocino, a little good wind came up which lasted till the day of Los Reyes.¹⁷² With this they sailed until they reached a point beyond the Puerto de San Francisco.¹⁷³ The day after Los Reyes, January 7, 1603, a northwest wind came up, somewhat severe, but still one which could be endured and with which headway could be made.¹⁷⁴ Those who were on the *Fragata*, considering that it was not such a wind as obliged them to go back for security, continued their voyage, as the *Capitana* had not put up any signal lantern, thinking they were together. It was at night and dark, and they did not see each other. In the morning the *General* decided to take a look at the Puerto de San Francisco, thinking that the *Fragata* would follow, and that he would await her there. As the *Fragata* was going ahead, however, they lost sight of each other, and became separated and nothing was known of her for the rest of the voyage, although the *General* made great efforts to find her. What happened to her after she separated from the *Capitana* I shall relate farther on, as she was not lost.

The reason why the *General* entered the Puerto de San Francisco was to examine and sound it, and to see if he could find any trace of the ship *San Agustín*, which had been wrecked there in 1595 by being driven on the coast by a wind blowing directly on shore. This ship had been despatched from the Philippines on the exploration which this fleet was now making and which is treated of in this account, by Governor Gomez Perez de las Mariñas, at the order of His Majesty and the then viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco. Aboard that ship was a small *fragata* in sections which, on sighting Cabo Mendocino, was to be set up in the first port found and provided with men and everything necessary to make this exploration, as it was a business easier to so carry out since they would have the northwest wind in their favor. The Governor committed the matter to the pilot, Sebastian Rodriguez Çermeño, giving him an instruction about what he had to do and charging him to perform the task with very great care and fidelity, as His Majesty had sent an order that it should be so done in all events. While they were setting up the *fragata* in this port an onshore wind came up which drove the ship upon the coast, and she was lost with what property she contained. One of the sailors on the ship was Francisco de Bolaños, now the chief pilot of the *Capitana* of our fleet. He recognized the port and had the *Capitana* enter it, claiming they had left on shore on that occasion



No. 31. The San Francisco coast, Drake's Bay, and the coast to about the Russian River



No. 32. From about the Russian River to north of Cape Mendocino

a quantity of wax and many cases of silks, and that it might be that something of the great quantity then lost might be found on the coast. The *Capitana* anchored in the port behind a point of land which was named "Punta de los Reyes." Because of anxiety about the *Fragata*, no men were landed, and in consequence the *Capitana* sailed out on the following day to continue her voyage and to search for her. The wind was northwest and dead ahead, and so the headway made was very little, and she therefore did not catch up with the *Fragata*. On Sunday, January 12, the *Capitana* came in sight of some high reddish sierras. Fourteen leagues to the northwest of these a cape was seen rising out of the sea, and near it some snowy mountains. For this reason the chief pilot, who had passed by here before, thought this to be Cabo Mendocino, which is in the latitude of $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.¹⁷⁵

There may be some curious person who may wish to know why this cape or point of land came to be named "Mendocino." The reason was that when Don Antonio de Mendoza was viceroy of New Spain in 1542, he sent two ships to the Philippines, under the command of Captain Villalobos. They reached Mindanao and went on to Tidore and Gilolo, where they were well received by the Islanders, as, so they said, they were happier with the Spaniards than with the Portuguese. These ships could not return to New Spain by the course by which they had come, as ordinarily the wind on that course is contrary. As they did not know the route which the most learned father, Fray Martin de Roda, of the Order of San Agustin, afterwards pointed out, the one by which at this time the ships from the Philippines usually come, the first land seen returning by that latitude was this Cabo Mendocino, to which they gave the name in honor and remembrance of the viceroy who was then governing New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza. For almost the same reason we named the Puerto de Monterey in our exploration in honor and remembrance of the Conde de Monterey in whose time and by whose orders the exploration was made of which I am now giving an account.¹⁷⁶

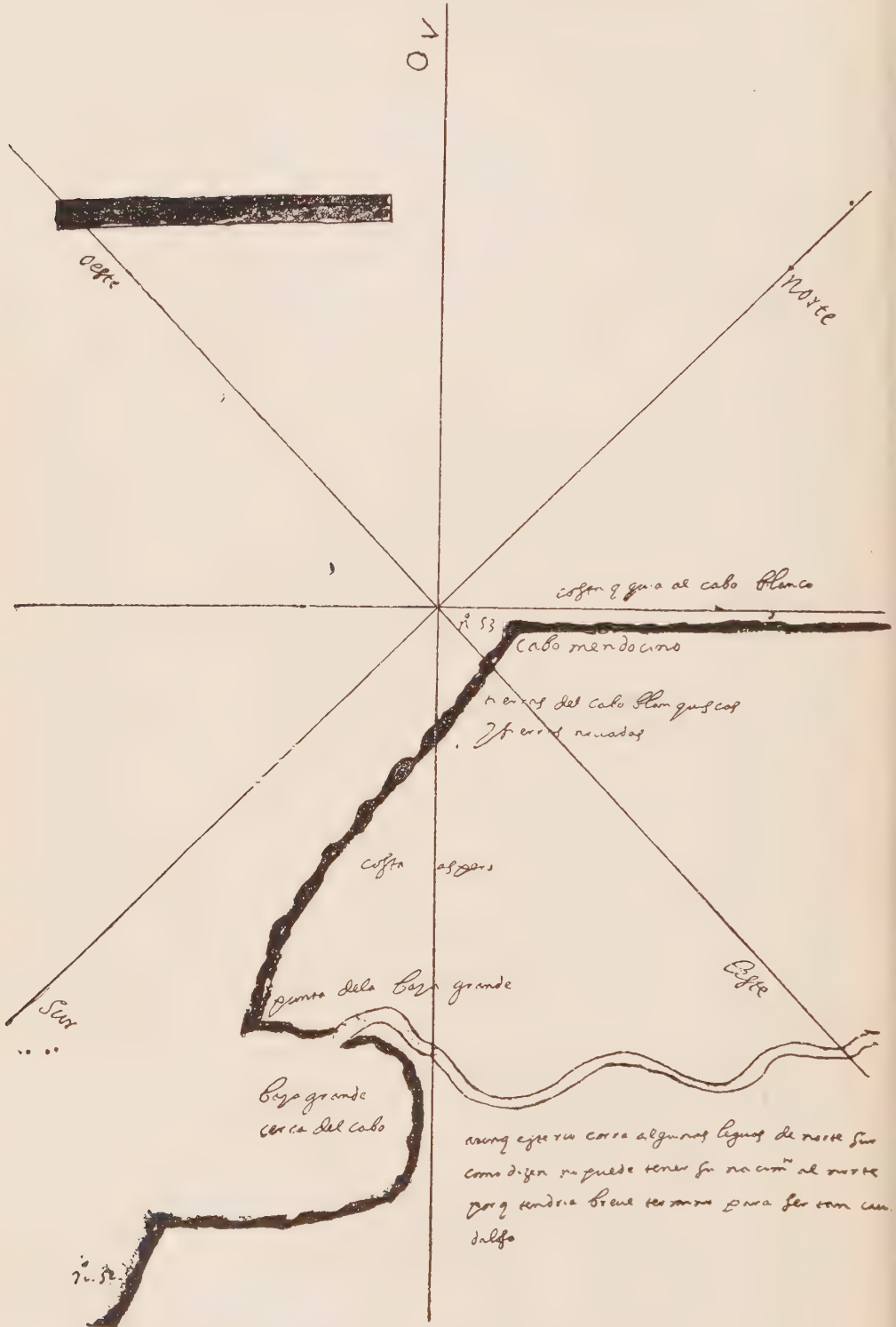
When in sight of Cabo Mendocino, and in that latitude, on January 13 a southeast wind came up with the greatest fury and with it a fog or mist so cold and dark that the day seemed like night. The sea became so wild that it seemed that with each wave the ship would be lost or submerged. In order to withstand this ferocious storm and not to go up to a higher latitude, for fear of the excessive cold now felt, which, as well as the storm, would be greater the higher the latitude (it was then the depth of winter), the *Capitana* was put beam to the sea with the agreement to stay in that position until the wind should be favorable to turn back to New Spain, since the port contained in the instruction which the *General* carried had now been reached,¹⁷⁷ although in this latitude we could find no trace whatever of the City of Quivira, notwithstanding every effort.¹⁷⁸

When the *Capitana* reached the neighborhood of Cabo Mendocino, there were not more than six men on board all told who were well and up, the rest of the soldiers, sailors, cabin boys, and ship boys being sick in bed with the same

disease of which I have given an account in Chapter X. Not only were these in their beds, but also the friars, and the captain-counsellors. They were so sick and spent that Father Andrés (who was the least sick) could scarcely come to confess and anoint those who were dying, since Father Antonio could not now move from his bed. He had such fainting spells that he lost consciousness for long periods, and they could not bring him to, although they took some very strong measures. As the few who had some health scarcely had strength enough to manage the sails, there was among all great anxiety and discouragement, brought on by fear of the evident present danger of losing their lives in such a place without any human remedy and without any expectation of finding one. I consider it very certain that if the storm had been more violent, all would have been lost by the ship striking on the coast, as the soldiers and sailors in their weakness were unable to lay the ship to, lacking the strength necessary to manage the sails as necessity demanded, and so if the wind or the currents had carried the ship there, they could not have prevented the loss and the hardships which would have ensued.

The *General*, seeing his only ship and his men in such hardships and danger, called his customary council together, and consulted with them about the remedy to be applied which would be most agreeable to the service of God and the King, and of all his men.¹⁷⁹ In view of the orders the Viceroy had given, and of what he had charged the *General* to do by a private instruction, they were of unanimous accord not to go farther on with the ship, but to return from there to New Spain when a favorable wind should come, and on the way enter the [Gulf of] California at the Puerto de La Paz, to await there the help which they had sent to ask of the viceroy, the Conde de Monterey, by the *Almiranta*. With this decision all the men on the *Capitana* seemed to obtain some comfort and relief, as they thought they might have a few more days to live than they would have if they went onward. On the 14th of the month, the day cleared up a little and the sun came out so that the pilots could make an observation for latitude.¹⁸⁰ It was found that they were near Cabo Mendocino, the strong currents having carried the ship that far in only two days. Soon the day darkened again with a fog or mist, so thick, so black, and so cold that there was no one who could withstand it or have any hopes. As the wind was still southeast, the ship was *al traves*,¹⁸¹ I mean beam to the sea, with all sails furled until January 19, the eve of the glorious martyr, San Sebastian. That day the wind changed and commenced to blow from the northwest. With this the day cleared up, and on taking the latitude the pilots found themselves in 42°. There was on the coast a cape of white earth close to some high sierras covered with snow. This was named "Cabo Blanco de San Sebastian."¹⁸²

On the day of San Antonio Abad, the 17th, at the persuasion of the *General* who was an extreme devotee of this saint, they made a solemn promise to make a donation to have a silver lamp made and provided with oil to offer to this saint in his Hermitage of San Anton, at the entrance to the City of Mexico, coming from Acapulco, making him their intercessor with Our Master, Jesus



No. 33. Humboldt Bay (probably) to about Trinidad

Christ, to take them away from that place and rescue them.¹⁸³ In order that they might visit him in his Hermitage, chant a mass, and offer him the lamp they had promised to make, the Saint gave them his assistance. The lamp was offered to him, and today it is in that Hermitage, burning in front of the Saint in memory of those who went on this voyage. With the northwest wind all the sailors ailing and sick were animated to assist each other, and with the greatest labor and difficulty the yards were hoisted and the sails spread to the wind to return to New Spain, with the intention of sailing along in sight of land again and reconnoitering the coast, to see if perchance the *Fragata* might be found. This happened January 19, 1603.¹⁸⁴

The *Fragata* (as above related), being without the *Capitana*, which it was thought had gone ahead, went in search of her. When in the latitude of 41°, a southeast wind struck her (as it had the *Capitana*), and not being able to withstand the sea by lying to, she ran with the wind until she reached the shelter of the mainland, very near Cabo Mendocino, where she remained at anchor behind a large rock until the fury of the storm had passed.¹⁸⁵ After the wind and sea calmed down, she went on close to land, and on January 19 Antonio Flores, the pilot, found himself in 43°. Here the land makes a cape or point, which was named "Cabo Blanco," and here the coast begins to trend to the northeast.¹⁸⁶ Close to it a very copious and deep river was discovered on whose banks there were very large ash trees, willows, brambles, and other trees of Castile. On attempting to enter it, the force of the current did not permit it. Ensign Martin de Aguilar, who commanded the *Fragata*, and the pilot Antonio Flores decided to return to New Spain, as they had already reached a higher latitude than the instructions of the Viceroy laid down. The *Capitana* did not appear, and they themselves as well as almost all the men on board were sick. Having charted the country, and named the river "Santa Inez," they set out. What else happened on the return I shall relate farther on.

No news nor signs of the City of Quivira could be had during the whole course of the exploration, not even in this latitude, and although some have thought that this Rio de Santa Inez¹⁸⁷ which the *Fragata* discovered is the one that reaches that city, of which mention has been made in the first chapter of this account, and in search of which this fleet set out, I consider it very certain, from what I shall say in Chapter XV, that such was not the case. To return to this neighborhood by the course this fleet took, I believe almost impossible, but it can be done with greater facility and in shorter time by taking some other method of sailing by a different course, of which I will tell when it is agreeable to the service of God and the King.

CHAPTER XII, *in which is treated of what happened to the Capitana after she departed from Cabo Mendocino to the arrival at the Islas de Mazatlan.*

In the last chapter I related how on the day of San Sebastian, January 20, the *Capitana* left on the return to New Spain from the Cabo de San Sebastian, which is farther on than Cabo Mendocino. In order to run along the coast she came sailing in sight of land and from point to point with the aid of the north-

west wind, which was, as they say, astern, in order to see what might have been missed. In this latitude of Cabo Mendocino there were many mountains and much show of trees in valleys protected from the northwest wind. From what could be discerned of the country inland it had a good appearance, and is of good character and fertile.¹⁸⁸ It seemed to be all inhabited by Indians, as on every side there were large numbers of smokes or fires.¹⁸⁹ As the wind was northwest and astern, the voyage was made with ease and without difficulty, so that there was not an inch of the country along all that coast, so to speak, which was not seen and well inspected.¹⁹⁰ As the *Capitana* was sailing along in this happy manner and so close to shore, two canoes were seen coming towards the ship, when in sight of a beautiful and pleasant beach, before reaching the Canal de Santa Barbara. In each one there were three people, naked and with no covering over their flesh except some skins like those of goats. On coming alongside the ship they made three turns around her, singing, and without any other courtesy came aboard with great familiarity, security and confidence, just as if they were entering their own house. The *General* received them with affection, gave them some biscuit and other things, and they went back to their country very contented and satisfied.¹⁹¹

When the *Capitana* reached this place on her return, everyone on board (except the *General* and three soldiers) had fallen sick of the same disease referred to above. The Father Comisario suffered the most severe pains, although he had not taken to his bed, but with great difficulty administered the sacraments to the sick, as Father Antonio had fallen sick like all the rest and could not move from his bed. As the sickness was so troublesome and painful, nothing was heard on the ship except cries and groans. Some to alleviate their sufferings, shouted out their complaints, others deploring their sins performed many acts of contrition in despal of them, begging Our Lord, Jesus Christ, to have pity on them and pardon them. Some died while talking, others while sleeping and were found dead in the morning, and others while sitting up in their beds and eating. It was a consolation that all died as faithful Christians, after having confessed and received the holy oil of extreme unction. To see so many dead, to hear such cries and such lamentations, would move the very stones to compassion and pity. In this hour of such great need Our Lord, Jesus Christ, came to give those who were up and with some degree of health a charity to assist the sick so fervent that it was well recognized to be the work of the Most High, nothing being lacking to the feeding, cleaning, aiding, and consoling of the sick. This was done so carefully that I doubt if it could have been better done on land and with an abundance of comforts. The friars, especially Father Tomás de Aquino, anticipating these inevitable occurrences, as he had sailed a great deal and experienced much hardship, provided in the Puerto de Acapulco a quantity of comforts reserved for this contingency. I think that if it had not been for these not a man would have remained alive, and it may be considered very certain that they were saved by reason of this relief and the help they found in these holy friars who worked so unselfishly to assist them.¹⁹² The

medicines and comforts which had been taken on board for the sick for the account of His Majesty were so scanty that they were exhausted on the first who became sick. I say therefore that all the remedies which the sick obtained in the course of this long voyage of hardships were at the hands of the friars. For the honor of the good God they did it, and it is certain that His Majesty must pay for it in this and in the other life.¹⁹³

The Indians having returned to land, the *Capitana* entered the Canal de Santa Barbara, with the intention of going to inspect the large island which I said in Chapter IX had been seen to the southeast of the Isla de Santa Catalina, to remain at the latter island some days waiting for the *Fragata*, and to communicate from there with the Indian chief who had offered entertainment and the ten women for each one of the soldiers, as before mentioned. The *General* was dissuaded from this plan by those of his council, who alleged that he had no men to furl the sails nor weigh the anchors at time of departure, that the men were dying at a great rate and that if what he wished was done they would all finish there, His Majesty receiving no service therefrom, and God, Our Master, being very offended in allowing them to die, as by exercising human diligence each could save his life. He would do to his brethren, they said, a notable injury in not relieving their extreme necessities, as in charity and justice everyone is under an obligation in such a case to aid them. Having set forth such reasons to the *General*, an order was given to go on without stopping at the Isla de Santa Catalina or inspecting the other island below. The chief pilot was ordered to steer a straight course to the Isla de Cedros, and from there to take the ship to the Cabo de San Lucas in order to await in the Puerto de La Paz the assistance which had been asked of the Viceroy by the *Almiranta*.¹⁹⁴

The chief pilot, Francisco de Bolaños, at once put into effect the order he had received, and following this course, on arriving off the Isla de Santa Catalina, and when about six leagues distant from it, three canoes of Indians from those islands came to the ship, bringing with them many sealskins and much fish, all of which they gave in exchange for necklaces of glass beads, scissors, and other little things. This they did because they were aware of the fact that the Spaniards had taken a fancy to such things, and so they were prepared and provided with them, and came out with them as the ship was passing. They stayed all night in the ship, and while the people were asleep they perpetrated a remarkable robbery with great cunning and sagacity, without being seen by some soldiers who were on guard. As they were caught with the stolen goods in the morning, they went away to their islands abashed and ashamed, and the ship went on its voyage.

The winds turned dead ahead and became so light that they sailed very little and very slowly. With great difficulty they came in sight of the Ensenada de Todos Santos, which they had not inspected, as stated in Chapter VIII, having left it for the return voyage. They did not enter it to examine it, because there were very few afoot, the rest being sick. At this place there were only three or four who could manage the sails and steer the ship, and therefore the ship

stood off from the coast a little in order to shorten the voyage, and thus what they did was to ascertain the courses and directions to be kept in sailing along that coast, in order that those sailing from China might know what route they had to take to effect their voyage to New Spain in safety after having sighted the land of Cabo Mendocino, if such seemed advisable to His Majesty.

February 3 our *Capitana* came in sight of the Isla de San Hilarion. Here the northwest wind freshened, and she stood off rather more from the land so that they only saw the high mountains on it, and recognized the places, seeing the Baia de Las Virgenes from afar. That same day, the 5th, she sighted the Isla de Ceniças which the *Almiranta* had inspected when she passed by it.¹⁹⁵ Here the wind took on greater force, and with it they crossed over to the Isla de Çedros. The following day in the afternoon the *Capitana* anchored close to this in the same place where she had been before, in order to take water and wood. When she came to port here, some of the sailors had recovered some strength and vigor with the change of climate, and so those who were able were induced to go ashore to bring water and wood. The *General* went with them. This happened on the 7th. They took water and wood and left some marks and writings in the place so that if the *Fragata* should happen to come there she might have news of the *Capitana* and know where she might be found.¹⁹⁶ They then went back on board and sailed from there Sunday, February 9, in the morning, going out between the islands and without inspecting the *ensenada* and the arm of the sea which Father Antonio had reconnoitered with the *Fragata*, as related in Chapter VI. Having emerged from between these islands, the chief pilot, to shorten the journey, stood off from the coast with the wind astern, and took a course to Cabo de San Lucas, coming in sight of it and very close to it at midday Friday, the 14th of the month. Here the *General* entered into a consultation about what it was wise to do, seeing how worn out and sick all were. It was agreed not to enter the Baia de San Bernabé, and not to visit the Puerto de La Paz, but to cross the Sea of California, called Mar Vermejo, and to go to the Islas de Maçatlan, a land of New Galicia inhabited by Christians who are subject to the Audiencia of Guadalajara, and to endeavor to cure the sick there and regale them with some fresh bread, chickens, calves and fruits of the country, and to advise the Viceroy of their arrival, remaining there until a swift post could go to Mexico City and return.¹⁹⁷ All having agreed to this, the *Capitana* crossed the mouth of the Sea of California and entered port between The Islas de Maçatlan on Monday night, February 17.¹⁹⁸ The following day they tied up the ship securely in the place which seemed most appropriate for her security, for the convenience of the men in going to and coming from shore and for bringing what was necessary for the maintenance of the men and the relief of the sick. What happened here I shall relate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XIII, in which is treated of what happened to the *Capitana* in the Puerto de Maçatlan and of her departure from there and her arrival at the Puerto de Acapulco.

As soon as the ship entered port at the Islas de Maçatlan, in order to give news of his arrival to the people of the neighborhood, the *General* did not know

what better to do than to go himself with the five soldiers he found with the greatest strength and most health.¹⁹⁹ Accompanied by these he went ashore to proceed to the Villa de San Sebastian, a town of Spaniards some eight leagues away from the port inland. This was February 19. As none of them knew the town or in which direction it was, while proceeding without road or path they fell into a great thicket of trees and wandered about lost in it for two days. Here they suffered greatly from hunger, thirst and weariness. What most fatigued them was the great heat the sun radiated there, and the hardship was so much the greater as the soldiers were weak and sick. They went, I mean found themselves, in danger of losing their lives. Wandering around from one place to another, they fell in with a wide, well-traveled road, which led to the Villa de Culiacan. Along this they went without knowing where it led, and while taking a little rest under the shade of some trees, they heard the sound of little bells and mule bells. Listening with attention, they looked around on all sides and saw coming a pack-train of mules on their way to the Villa de Culiacan with clothing and edibles of Castile. They waited for it, and asking the master of the train what road that was, he said that they were going by it to the Villa de Culiacan, and that he was going there with his train. They asked him for the Villa de San Sebastian, and where the *alcalde mayor* of that district resided. He offered with great love and good-will to take them to where he was living, and at once had the train unloaded, gave them something to eat and relieved their necessities. He then provided all of them with mules to ride and told them to follow him, saying that he would guide them. There was a town near by where the *alcalde mayor* was,²⁰⁰ and as soon as they entered it they encountered him, one Captain Martin Ruiz de Aguirre, a great friend of the *General* and of all those who were with him.

They received and greeted each other with a great display of love and friendship, and the *General* gave him a long account of his voyage, of their straits, and of the hardships and sickness from which those on the ship were suffering, in order that he should make his people come to their relief with care, assiduity, and speed. He requested that they carry supplies of bread, chickens, calves, goats, and other things in the way of fruits and vegetables, and that they do this during the time that he and his men had to remain there with their ship. He also asked him to give him a diligent and careful man to go at once to Mexico with letters for the Viceroy, to advise him of his arrival and of the straits in which he was, as only those five of all who were on board his ship were well, all the rest dying at a great rate. To all that he asked Captain Aguirre, the *alcalde mayor*, acceded with painstaking diligence. If he had not done so and the *General* had not asked so much, all the men would have died in this port without doubt, and the ship would have remained there without anyone to look after her. When the *General* returned to the ship with his men he caused to be carried in advance of him as refreshment for the men, hens, chickens, kids, bread, papayas, bananas, oranges, lemons, pumpkins, *quiletes*,²⁰¹ and whatever he could find which would serve for their comfort, leaving an

order with the *alcalde mayor* to send every third day at least six loads of such things, with which refreshment the men could be strengthened and on which they could live during the time they should remain there, keeping some to sustain themselves until they reached the Puerto de Acapulco. In none of this was there any failing. An order was at once given to despatch a post to Mexico, and within three days the *General* sent him away to travel twenty leagues a day.

By what has been said in the past chapters, and by what has been related in this, anyone can understand in what state the men on the *Capitana* were when she entered the Puerto de Maçatlan. What could be related on this point with all truth and fidelity would be incredible. I shall simply say that all those who fell sick and died on this journey did so from the disease of which I treated in Chapter X. The gums in their mouths swelled to such an extent that they could neither talk nor eat anything and they reached this port more dead than alive. As the sickness was so pestilential and inflammatory, all had lost confidence in being able to regain their strength during the rest of their lives. When they arrived here, nothing was heard on the ship but cries, complaints, pitiful lamentations, and calls upon our Señora del Carmen, whom they had taken as Mother, Patroness and Protector of this voyage. As a pious mother, she took compassion on so many people, and came to their relief in such a way that in the nineteen days the ship remained here almost all recovered their health and strength, and the most crippled arose from their beds, so that when the *Capitana* sailed from this port for Acapulco all could assist in managing the sails and keep watch and guard, as they had done when, on the outward voyage, they passed here at the end of May, 1602.

In order that it may be known how health came from such hands as those of Our Lady, the Virgen Maria del Monte Carmelo, all being her children and members of the Brotherhood, and wearing her sacred scapulary, let those who read this account know that it was not by doctors or surgeons, medicines or other drugs from the pharmacies, nor by any human remedy understood to be a medicine usually given in this disease. If there was any human relief it was, in one case, the fresh and substantial food which was given them by the good efforts of the *General* and the *alcalde mayor* of that province, and in the other a miraculous one, which brought health in a visible manner, namely, the eating of a little fruit found in those islands in great abundance at this season and which the natives call *jocoistles*. In other parts they call them *mançanillas*. It is a fruit like the yellow *mançanilla*, somewhat long and inside like tunas. They grow on plants like little magueys or *sábilas*. These throw out a head or stem about a yard in height, which like a cypress is full of flowers which produce these *mançanillas*.²⁰² When seasoned and ripe their skin is yellow, and each stem produces about a hundred. The pulp is white, like that of white tunas, with little seeds or grains, somewhat larger than theirs. It has a pleasant and tempting taste, slightly sweetish, with a touch of acid, which gives it a very good flavor. It has a cleansing and astringent virtue, and

besides is a recognized antiseptic. It produces all these effects with noteworthy pleasure and suavity, and, taking the swelling out of the gums, contracts and fortifies them. With this the teeth become tightened and fast. It cuts away and cleans the infected parts around them, making one throw out of his mouth all the bad blood which had been collected in the swollen gums. On eating of it twice, it put the mouth and the teeth in such condition that one could eat any other kind of food without difficulty or pain. If this fruit had not produced this effect, the fresh food which came could not have been eaten or passed into the stomach.

The way that the virtue of this little fruit came to be known was this. When some soldiers went to the island with the Father Comisario, to say mass and bury some dead, a corporal named Antonio Ruiz, seeing the fruit, and anxious to try things of the country, plucked one of these *mançanillas* and cutting it in half with a knife and separating the skin from the pulp, put it into his mouth with difficulty, as best he could. He tried to chew it to see what flavor it had, and found it of good taste. He soon commenced to throw out of his mouth much fetid blood, and then prepared another. When he put this in his mouth he did not feel so much pain in his teeth and found that these had become somewhat fast, as with them and his molars he could divide and chew them. He then continued eating others, and each time he found himself better able to eat them. When he returned to the ship, he took a bunch of them with him and told his shipmates and the rest what had occurred with the little fruit. All commenced to try it, and soon became aware of its virtue, finding that what he had told them was true. They therefore went again to the island and brought a quantity of the fruit. All ate them and found themselves much improved. When the *General* came from shore and brought the fresh food before him, they received him with great pleasure and began to eat what had been brought with good spirit, at which he was much amazed and gave thanks to Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and His Blessed Mother, for finding his men so much better and in such good spirits. He arranged that fresh bread, hens, calves, kids and fruits should be brought each day. These were a great benefit to all, so that they were cured and recovered their health inside of nineteen days, as I have stated. The Indians of that country and those of that province of Acaponeta and Chametla eat these *mançanillas* roasted or boiled, saying that thus they are more tasty and not so biting and acid as when raw.

The *General*, finding that all had recovered their health in such a short time and being without calkers and with but few men, gave an order to proceed to the Puerto de Acapulco to there dress the ship and secure men and new supplies of food, in order to return to California, if the Viceroy should so command. If he did not, he would then have finished the hardships of his voyage, which was what all desired. Therefore, taking what food seemed necessary, the *Capitana* departed from the Islas de Maçatlan, March 9, with a favorable wind. The chief pilot took a course to the Puerto de Acapulco, passing near Cabo de Corrientes,²⁰³ and in sight of the Puerto de Navidad. From there

he went along the coast until he came in sight of the Puerto de Acapulco. The ship entered this March 21, 1603, the day of San Benito Abad, and here the *Almiranta* was found and two or three of those who had come in her.

CHAPTER XIV, in which is treated of the dispositions in the Puerto de Acapulco, of the voyage of the *Almiranta* until she reached there, of what happened to the *Fragata*, and of how the General and the friars with the others entered Mexico.

When the *Capitana* entered the Puerto de Acapulco all the inhabitants were surprised to see how well and sound all on board her were, as, by what those who had come back alive in the *Almiranta* had told them, they had persuaded themselves that they would never see her again. The first was that they had left the *Capitana* and *Fragata* in the Puerto de Monterey about to proceed to reconnoiter the Cabo Mendocino; that those on board were very sick and that, seeing that they had to go up to such a high latitude, it was impossible that all should not die during the voyage, considering what they themselves had seen and passed through. What had happened to them would without doubt have happened to the others if the return voyage had not been so short, and if they had not regained their strength at the Islas de Maçatlan, as stated in the previous chapter. Those on the *Almiranta* who had come back alive said that on the return they had suffered many hardships and misfortunes, as the sound men aboard her fell sick with the same disease as the others and almost all died before entering Acapulco, only three of those on her being well. Some died at sea and others in the hospital in the port as soon as they arrived. The three who survived and miraculously brought the ship into port were: *Almirante* Toribio Gomez de Corbán, a corporal named Vidal, and a young man named Juan de Marchena. If the *Almirante* had not been a man of courage, spirit, and a remarkable sailor he could never have brought the ship into this port. Of those who arrived in her sick, only six soldiers survived, and these reached the point of receiving extreme unction. To see the condition in which the sick reached there was pitiful. Father Tomás was almost at the last gasp and remained crippled for many months. Finally, to sum up, of those who embarked on the *Almiranta* in the Puerto de Monterey, twenty-five died. As the residents of the Puerto de Acapulco had seen her come in so disabled and the crew so reduced in number, they concluded that the hardships which those of the *Capitana* would have to suffer would be much greater, as most of them were sick in the Puerto de Monterey, and others were attacked with the same disease. They were then about to leave and go up to the latitude of 42°, so it was considered impossible that any of them could escape. When, therefore, the residents of the port saw the *Capitana* come in with her men so sound and well, as stated, all were extremely surprised, as only thirteen of those who had been left in her had died before entering that port. Advice had been sent to the Viceroy of the arrival of the *Almiranta* and of what had happened to her on her voyage. His Excellency ordered the royal officials of the port to provide the sick with every comfort and to cure them with care, especially Father Tomás de Aquino, to whom he commanded should be given all the animals²⁰⁴ and every possible comfort to

enable him to reach Mexico. The royal officials and Lorenço Pacheco, the *alcalde mayor*, complied with what the Viceroy had commanded with due care and diligence.

As soon as the *General* landed he gave an order to send a post to the Viceroy, giving him an account of his arrival and of the condition of his men, so that His Excellency might command what was pleasing to him. The post was at once despatched and when it reached Mexico the Viceroy had already received news that the *Fragata* was in the Puerto de Navidad, as Esteban Lopez, who had been left as her pilot, had come to Mexico, leaving Felipe Bastian de Santiago as her commander, in guard of the *Fragata*. This pilot in giving an account of his voyage related that after he had lost sight of the *Capitana*, he had gone in search of her, reaching the latitude of 43° , and had discovered what has been referred to in Chapter XI of this account. From there they had undertaken the return to the Puerto de Acapulco, acting on the opinion of Ensign Martin de Aguilar and Pilot Anton Flores.²⁰⁵ Both of these died before reaching the Puerto de San Diego, leaving the *Fragata* in charge of Esteban Lopez, as her pilot and master, and a very good soldier named, as stated, Felipe Bastian de Santiago.²⁰⁶ These, with three others who had also survived, gave an order to come straight to New Spain in search of the *Capitana*. They came to the Puerto de Navidad. It seems that when they passed the Puerto de Maçatlan, the *Capitana* was anchored there. If they had entered it they would have rejoined each other and together have come to Acapulco. When the *Fragata* entered Navidad those on board agreed that the pilot, Esteban Lopez, should carry the news to the Viceroy while Felipe Bastian and his shipmates remained guarding her. His Excellency at once despatched him to take the *Fragata* to the Puerto de Acapulco. This was done and there the fleet came together again, just as it had left, without having lost a cable, anchor, mast or anything else of importance. This can be considered a miracle, as they had been sailing for a year through seas unfrequented or unknown and with such continuous storms as they had suffered during the whole course of the voyage.

The Viceroy having received the letter the *General* had sent from Acapulco by the post, at once despatched another in which he ordered the royal officials to pay the soldiers very well what was due them and to take good care of the friars, the Father Comisario and Father Antonio, and to give them everything necessary to enable them to reach the City of Mexico. All was carried out with the greatest fidelity and diligence. They allotted what pay seemed due to the soldiers who were alive and to those who had died.

Altogether those who died on this voyage numbered forty,²⁰⁷ among whom were Ensign Juan de Açevedo Texeda, a Portuguese, Ensign Sebastian Melendez, Ensign Martin de Aguilar, Galeote, Pilot Antonio Flores, Pilot Baltazar de Armas, Sergeant Miguel de Legar, Sergeant and chief calker Juan del Castillo Bueno, and other soldiers of much valor and spirit. It is not necessary to give their names, as they were not so well known as those just mentioned.

The soldiers having been paid and animals given the friars for their journey, the *General*, Captains Alonso Esteban Peguero and Pascual de Alarcon, and

Ensign Juan Francisco Suriano, with all the rest of the soldiers, departed from Acapulco April 7 for the City of Mexico in company with the friars, and reached there sound and well on Saturday morning, the 19th.²⁰⁸ That day the friars said mass in the Hermitage of San Anton Abad, at the entrance of the city, as they had made this promise to that Saint when they wished to return to New Spain while in the latitude of 42°, which is farther on than Cabo Mendocino. From there the *General*, the captains and soldiers went together to the Convent of San Sebastian of the Barefoot Carmelite friars, and left there Fathers Andrés and Antonio, whom the friars of the convent received with great pleasure and satisfaction. Then they all went in a troop to Chapultepec to kiss the hands of the Viceroy. He received them all with the greatest pleasure and joy, embracing them and thanking them for their work and labor on the voyage, promising to reward all in conformity with their rank and deserts. With this all declared themselves contented and well paid for their services. The Viceroy took care to always grant them what they requested from him.

With what I have related in this account and discourse, it seems to me that I have made the valor and spirit of our Spaniards understood, especially of those who went on this expedition, as they accomplished with such labor and fatigue an enterprise so difficult that, of the five or six times in which it had been tried, none had accomplished it until on this occasion, nor even the half of it, although it seemed to those who had attempted it that they had done all that the Spanish nation could humanly do.²⁰⁹ Those who went on this expedition can very well be proud of their accomplishment. Much more would they have done if health had not failed all of them, as they certainly had the will to continue around the land until they entered the Strait of Anian, if in that latitude eighteen had been well. By this it is thought the ship of the foreigners entered, who saw the famous City of Quivira, of which they gave the account to our Catholic King, Phillip II, which moved him to order this expedition to be made, as I related in the first chapter. If they had found a passage to Spain, considered certainly to exist in that locality, they would have undertaken the enterprise and gone to see Spain and their King, by a route never before seen or discovered, making a turn around the world. Cabo Mendocino is in the same latitude as the city and noted University of Salamanca, the two places being diametrically opposite each other, that is, as the astrologers say, *antecos*. I mean that those who live at the Cabo Mendocino are *antecos*²¹⁰ to those who live in the City of Salamanca. They discovered a new world as full of people and riches as may be seen by this account. In this I trust (by the mercy of Our Lord, Jesus Christ) I may see our Evangelical law and our holy mother, the Roman Catholic Church, planted and widely extended, and the natives of this kingdom and New World, having come to be Christians, go to enjoy heaven, where we shall all see each other. Amen. I ask all who read this account, for the love of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, to pray to Him to convert such a number of souls as are there, as He redeemed them with His blood.

[The two concluding chapters of Father Antonio de la Ascension's account of Vizcaino's voyage will be included in the final installment of "Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast in the Sixteenth Century," which will be printed in the March, 1929, *Quarterly*.]

NOTES

[The accounts designated by the letters A-O in the following notes are described in the Notes to Chapter X, this *Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 269-74. It should be noted that the second item denoted by "K" on p. 273 should have been headed "L."]

1. One of the famous Las Casas tracts published in Seville in 1552.
2. By reference to the original text of Las Casas' pamphlet it appears that this Latin clause should be *Id est ob interpositam causam*. It was inserted in the original to explain the meaning of the word *modal* which immediately precedes it. The meaning seems to be that Alexander did not make the grant as a mere gift but in due prescribed form in settlement of a controversy which had been referred to him; in other words, the Pope acted as a kind of arbitrator. The partition was designed to avoid disputes between Spain and Portugal over new discoveries.
3. Torquemada in copying this description omitted the name Quivira and the latitude.
4. The assumption that this city was Quivira was a purely gratuitous one of Father Antonio's. The original story has been already related in a preceding chapter.
5. The wreck of the *San Felipe* was one of the greatest disasters in the history of the Manila trade.
6. *Sp., estado*. Perhaps his estate was meant, rather than his status.
7. Considering that Cabrillo had accomplished just as much as Vizcaino, the statement is either disingenuous or else denotes complete ignorance of Cabrillo's expedition. The reference is obviously to the expedition of Bolaños, as the word *destrozado* is used.
8. This title came from his appointment. It does not correspond in any way to the English word "general," but meant the commander of a fleet, usually an armed one which carried both soldiers and sailors. His ship was known as the *capitana*.
9. An *almirante* was not an "admiral" as usually translated, but the second in command of a fleet; his ship was known as the *almiranta*.
10. A *fragata* was not a "frigate" in the modern acceptance of that word, but a small open vessel with three masts.
11. The first party of Carmelites, three priests and two lay brothers, came in 1585 with the Marqués de Villamanrique. Early in the following year they acquired a resting place in the Hermita de San Sebastian.
12. From this and the preceding sentence it seems likely that both Fathers Andrés and Antonio had come to Mexico in 1597, and that Father Antonio was then a priest. In C, Father Antonio states that he had been born and reared in Salamanca and studied in the university there until he took the holy habit. In G, he stated that he had been born in Salamanca and studied cosmography in the university. José Mariano Beristain y Souza in his *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Setentrional* states that he was a native of Salamanca, studied mathematics in the university there, continued this study in the College of Pilots in Seville, went to Mexico as a secular and took the habit there in 1600. The latter part of this is evidently a mistake.
13. A *difnador*, or as now spelled, a *definidor*, was a member of the governing body of a province of certain of the monastic orders.
14. Father Andrés testified in September, 1603, in N, that he was forty-five years of age and had known Vizcaino about seven years.
15. Captain Peguero testified in N, September 16, 1603, that he was forty years of age and had known Vizcaino three years.
16. In B, Captain Alarcon is referred to as Gaspar instead of Pascual and as *soldado afamado de Breña*. This expression is ambiguous, and in the English version in *Venegas* was translated "a native of Brittany." He testified in N that he was thirty-three years of age and had known Vizcaino four years. There was still another counsellor, Francisco Benitez, a sergeant, who testified in N, September 30, 1603, that he was twenty-seven years of age and had known Vizcaino nine years, having accompanied him to California on the first expedition.
17. As will be seen later on, this man's name was Martin de Aguilar, *Galeote*. What *Galeote* represents is unknown to the writer.
18. B, "March 19, the day of San José." In the 1723 edition a change was made to the 20th. K, the 19th.
19. In C, it is stated that the party numbered about 200. Captain Alarcon testified in N, that 330 all told embarked in Acapulco, but this seems too great a number. Perhaps the "330" is in error for "230." K, "seamen and soldiers 126"; the rest were evidently officers, friars, cabin boys, ship boys, and counsellors.
20. Captain Palacios had brought the *San Diego* from Realejo, and the *Santo Tomás* was a Peruvian ship which the Viceroy had bought.
21. Bolaños testified, in N, that he was thirty-eight years of age and had known Vizcaino eighteen years, that is, therefore, since 1585. He implied that he had made one or more voyages to the Philippines, and said he had been in the islands when Vizcaino was there. He vol-

unteered the information that he knew that many times when the ships from China sighted Cabo Mendocino they stood off again to sea for fear of shoals supposed to be in that locality. Some years afterwards he communicated some further information of little value regarding the voyage to Rodrigo de Vivero, afterwards the Conde del Valle.

22. Father Antonio also alleges in C that he was one of two cosmographers. In H, he called himself *cosmografo segundo*. In E, he stated that he and Captain Martin Palacios had been assigned to different ships and ordered to put down the discoveries separately.

23. This man was perhaps the pilot of the same name who had been captured by Sir Francis Drake in 1579, just before reaching Guatulco.

24. In K, an interesting detail is given about taking the image of Nuestra Señora del Carmen on the ship on May 3. They had a procession on land, fired a salute of artillery and musketry, and then carried her aboard in a boat covered with a decorated awning.

25. Father Antonio calls almost every body of water from a cove to a gulf an *ensenada*, so it seems better to retain his name without attempting in each case to decide the proper English equivalent.

26. According to K, the longboat gave trouble from the start. On bringing her out to the flagship in order to pass a line to her in order to tow her, her mast caught in some of the rigging of the ship and she upset, causing a great deal of trouble to right her, as there was undoubtedly a heavy swell.

27. The author was here very much mixed. The Legaspi fleet had been built in this port but none of his ships had discovered Cabo Mendocino on the return voyage. Father Antonio possibly meant the expedition of Villalobos, but so far as known, none of his ships ever returned to New Spain. There is no record of any ship from the Philippines having ended its voyage at this port in the early days. In G, it is stated that the ships from China were accustomed to land men here to send news of their arrival. This was frequently done.

28. What Father Antonio meant by this word is unknown. The *zarza* was a bramble or blackberry bush and the word occurs later in the narrative apparently with that meaning.

29. On the 20th a council was held at which signals were established, and a rendezvous fixed at Mazatlan in case the vessels should become separated. If after waiting there eight days and the other ships had not arrived, anyone who had reached there was to go to Cabo de San Lucas. If the others should not be found there, after waiting eight days, he should go on, leaving a letter in a cask underneath some tree which should be marked with a cross.

30. Whitsunday. According to K, they sighted the cape on the 2d, and finding a small island nearby named it "Espiritu Santo."

31. According to K, they were off the Punta de Tintoque, Jaltelga and Chacala on the 28th. In E, a somewhat detailed description of the coast is inserted, very similar to that contained in H.

32. In 1596 Vizcaino called these islands the "Islas de San Juan de Maçatlan," no doubt their original name. In G, Mazatlan is placed in $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. In L, the port is called "Trinidad."

33. That is, Thomas Cavendish, pronounced in England "Candish." In the 1723 edition of B., the name is spelled "Candisch."

34. *Sp., una tercia*, that is a third of a *vara*. The *vara* measures a little over 33 inches, but as these measures are only approximate, *vara* is usually translated "yard."

35. An *arroba* is about twenty-five pounds.

36. These little *manzanillas*, as Father Antonio called them, were undoubtedly the fruit of the *opuntia imbricata*, a species of cactus with an edible fruit. It is now known under names very similar to the one given here: *Joconostle*, *Joconoxtle*, *Coyonoxtle* or *Xoconostle*. (Kindness of Miss Alice Eastwood.) The word seems to be made up of two Nahuatl words, *Xococ*, bitter, and *Nochtli*, the general name for the fruit of the tuna. None of the witnesses produced by Vizcaino in 1603 mentioned them.

37. *Sp., de paz*, that is, peaceable. The expression was a somewhat technical one, generally used at the time in speaking of Indians or a particular country and meaning "pacified," that is, reduced to the service of the King.

38. *Sp., boca del mar de la California*, strictly speaking "the mouth of the Sea of California." The author generally employs this expression or some variation of it for the Gulf of California.

39. The Rio Grande enters the ocean south of Mazatlan and was not the same as the Navito which does empty north of that port.

40. In K, it is stated that they started to cross over after sailing two leagues along the coast from Mazatlan, were five days in doing so as the wind was from the west, obliging them to tack, and sighted the California coast June 8, twelve leagues before reaching Cabo de San Lucas.

41. K, "fifty harquebusiers."

42. K, "about a hundred Indians."

43. In C, it is stated that "the Indians said in a loud voice 'Utesi,' that is to say, 'seat yourselves'."

44. This recalls a story of a Negro, related by Gonzalo de Francia, who accompanied Vizcaino on his first voyage. In his testimony in the investigation by Alvarez Serrano, given May 27, 1629, he said the Indians rubbed a Negro he had with him to see if the color would come off, and gave him a large pearl, but to the Spaniards nothing. In G, Father Antonio advances the opinion that the Negroes must have been descendants of some who had been left on shore at the cape by a ship on which Santiago de Vera was returning from the Philippines. As Vera had only returned in 1591, the Negroes had hardly had time to leave many descendants.

45. As there were no pearl oysters on this part of the coast, so far as is now known, Father Antonio seems to have been exercising his imagination.

46. Corpus Christi is celebrated on the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday, and the Octavario is the Thursday one week later, on this occasion June 13.

47. Finding equivalent names in English for the various birds, animals, fish and plants encountered by sixteenth century explorers is extremely unsatisfactory. They almost invariably applied names to the objects which corresponded in their opinion to something like them in Spain. In countries where these have been subsequently named by English-speaking people some resemblance, real or fancied, to other objects known to them has also been the determining factor. By this time many of the fish found, for example on the Sinaloa coast, had received local names, as will be seen in the following list. For some of these it has been impossible to find an English equivalent, although in several cases they have scientific names applied by David Starr Jordan in his investigation of the subject in *Proceedings California Academy of Sciences*, Second Series, Vol. V, Part I, 1895. To give these is no more edifying to the general reader than to retain the Spanish originals.

48. *Esmeregales* may be an error for *esmaridos* (pilchards), or an old form of the word.

49. A *sirguero* is a linnet, a bird. In C, the word occurs as *tirgueros*.

50. In C, it is said that the ship raised it and dragged it behind.

51. In G, it is stated that Cabo de San Lucas is in $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, over one-half of a degree too high: in L, $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

52. *Sp., ciruelas*.

53. *Pitakayas* are the cactuses bearing this fruit.

54. Thomas Cavendish.

55. When this distribution was made, Vizcaino issued an order prohibiting the men from gambling away or selling any of it, and gave stringent instructions not to molest the Indians or take away anything from them by force.

56. June 16 a council was held on the beach at the tent. It was decided to leave at the time of the conjunction of the moon, as a strong northwest wind was then blowing. As the coast was not known, the two ships were not to go near land but only the launch, which was to sound it with a boat. If the ships became separated, Cedros was appointed as a rendezvous. If the northwest winds obliged them to go back, they were to stop at the nearest capacious port which had been discovered, but if none had been found, then they were to go back to San Lucas, where they would await each other. None of the men on the launch was to go ashore until one of the other ships arrived, and then not less than thirty well-armed men with an officer. Penalty of death was provided for breach of this observance, as it was said there were many Indians in the country, and if they should happen to kill any Spaniard they would become very daring. Peaceable Indians should be well treated, and nothing taken from them, so as to make friends of them. No soldier could accept a present from an Indian, but only the officer in charge. New moon occurred June 20. According to K, the fleet sailed on the 19th.

57. June 27 another council was held in the bay to discuss what should be done in view of the continuance of contrary winds, which had already driven them back twice. Vizcaino suggested going out to sea in search of a more favorable wind, but the council decided to remain in port until a change of weather occurred, as they were momentarily expecting a southeast wind, and if they went out to sea and the weather was bad, they would have to go back to New Spain; better wait, they concluded, for the opposition of the moon or the first favorable wind. At six o'clock the same afternoon on the *Capitana* the naval advisers said that, notwithstanding what had been agreed to, the wind having changed to the southeast, they should make sail, as, if this should blow hard they would make much headway outside, while with it they could not leave the port.

58. In this chapter heading occurs the only use of "Çerros" as an alternative name for "Cedros." In all his subsequent *Breve relaciones*, Father Antonio also uniformly calls the island "Cedros."

59. This is the range facing the coast which extends northward twenty or thirty miles from Cabo San Lucas.

60. Father Antonio was on the *Santo Tomás*, and what he relates of the occurrences on the *San Diego* for a time hereafter, is merely hearsay; in the main, however, his statements agree with those of Vizcaino. The plan shows Punta de San^a Margarita and the Baía Engañosa de San Marino. The former, Punta Tosco in $24^{\circ} 17'$, is placed in the explanation as in $24^{\circ} 15'$, a probable error in the text, as $24^{\circ} 15'$ is too close to the actual latitude.

61. Vizcaino also sent Bolaños out to sea with the ship's boat to look for the *Santo Tomás*, but as the wind freshened he had to come back.

62. Still known under the same name. The entrance is in $24^{\circ} 32'$; I and M, 25° — error, $28'$.

63. The inference would be that those on the *Tres Reyes* had named this bay, but from what precedes it can be seen that the *San Diego* had been there on the 18th, the day of Santa Marina. The *Tres Reyes* evidently did not reach there until later.

64. The Puerto de Santiago, named by Bolaños, was farther north, probably having been Bahía Ballenas. This is another indication that Vizcaino had some, even if inaccurate, knowledge of his voyage. In E, Father Antonio alleges that this bay was the farthest north of the discoveries of the expedition sent out by Cortés, "Cortés," being perhaps a mistake for "Mendoza." Perhaps, however, he mistook the bay, as later in his narrative he calls the Ensenada de Todos Santos, "Santiago." If such were the case, we might suspect that Todos Santos had been named "Santiago" by Ulloa in May or July, 1540. In B, the port is called "Puerto del Marqués or Santiago." Torquemada was probably mistaken in calling it Puerto del Marqués, as on older maps this usually appears farther south.

65. In C, it is stated that this arm was ascended about a league.

66. This was named the "Baía de Almejas," a name sometimes incorrectly applied to what Vizcaino called the "Baía de Santa Marina." The Baía de Almejas was discovered by a party of twenty men under the command of Alarcon and Captain Palacios, who made an exploration of the whole bay. They found some water on the Isla Santa Margarita but it was green. In C, it is stated that a quantity of ambergris was found in this bay.

67. Vizcaino sailed on Saturday the 27th, but was obliged to anchor in the entrance on account of the currents and the lack of wind. At midnight a land breeze came up and the ships went outside.

68. Named on her day, July 29.

69. No mention is made of passing the Punta de San Lazaro in $24^{\circ} 48'$, but this appears on the chart, and in I is put in $25^{\circ} 20'$ — error, $32'$. The writer has never been able to find any statement about the naming of this point, one of the most conspicuous on the coast of Lower California, but most likely Vizcaino did so, as he was near it on the return voyage about February 11, one of San Lazaro's days. At a distance, from the north it looks like an island and is so described in the *derroteros*.

70. Probably the Boca Las Animas, one of the entrances to the large lagoon which extends for a long distance from there to the south. The entrance is still marked by a long shoal on which the sea breaks. The day of San Cristobal is July 30.

71. This place could not have been the Baía de Ballenas, where in G it is said the *Santo Tomás* remained two days, as from a reference to Vizcaino's narrative it can be seen that it was probably the Boca Pabellon, ten miles south of Punta San Juanico. Vizcaino was apparently there August 2, as a council was held on board that day, about two leagues off the coast, in which it was decided to reconnoiter the bay with the *Tres Reyes* and look for water and the *Almiranta*. The latitude was placed at $26^{\circ} 15'$ — error, about $30'$, if Boca Pabellon. There are five mouths of lagoons between Cabo San Lazaro and Punta San Juanico, so a positive identification is not possible.

72. The *San Diego* did not enter this port until August 8. In the *derroteros* "Punta Santo Domingo" and "Punta de Nuestra Señora de Nieves" are named between the Boca de Pabellon and this bay. These names must have been given August 4 and August 5, respectively. Their identification is difficult, owing to the fact that the latitude given in M to Punta de Nuestra Señora de Nieves, $27^{\circ} 15'$, is the same as that ascribed to Abrejos, indicating that it was Punta Abrejos, but the map does not so show it. In L, it is stated that the *ensenada* extends from the Punta de San Lazaro to $26^{\circ} 15'$ and that the Punta de Nieves is in $27^{\circ} 15'$. As a difference of 1° does not exist between any two points on this part of the coast, a textual error is indicated in the location of one or the other point, probably the latter, as suggested in the preceding sentence, or very possibly in both. It is quite apparent from Palacios' description of Punta de Nieves that it was Punta Santo Domingo. He also says that two leagues to the north-northwest of this *punta* was the Punta de Bajos, from which some shoals extended out more than three leagues. Indications are that this point is the one now known as Bronaugh, from which some shoals make off to the south for four miles. There are three prominent *puntas* on the coast here, Punta San Juanico, Punta Pequeña, and Punta Santo Domingo, the last in $26^{\circ} 19'$. It might appear that the first was named "Punta de Santo Domingo" by Vizcaino and the last "Punta de Nuestra Señora de Nieves." In E, the Abrejos are mentioned, and a little beyond these there is said to be a high, round peak where the Baía de Ballenas begins. In reality, Ballenas is south of Abrejos.

73. A reference to the Siete Infantes de Lara, a legend of the tenth century related in the *Hystoria del noble cavallero el Conde Fernan Gonzalez con la muerte de los siete Infantes de Lara*. Captain Palacios calls them the "Siete Durmientes," possibly a reference to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. In E, it is said that the range extends from east to west.

74. This was really Bahía Ballenas. The entrance to the Laguna de San Ignacio is at the east end of the bay, somewhat distant from the point. Because of the southeast wind, Vizcaino did not stop but sailed at midnight and passed around the Abreojos, which he says he named. I and L place them in $27^{\circ} 15'$ — error, $29'$.

75. On the 13th, the day of San Hipólito, Vizcaino reached an *ensenada* to which he gave that name, which it still bears.

76. This island was reached by Vizcaino at five o'clock on the afternoon of the 14th and was named by him "La Asuncion de Nuestra Señora." What Father Antonio meant by calling it "San Roque" is difficult to understand, as the day of San Roque was August 16, and according to his account he had been at this island several days earlier on the *Santo Tomás*, probably on August 5, as in his later memorials he calls the island "Nieves," no doubt after Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, whose day is August 5. What happened, it seems, is that Father Antonio on the *Santo Tomás* gave these islands names when he discovered them, but later adopted as a rule those given by Vizcaino and became somewhat mixed in the process.

77. On the 15th Vizcaino sent Alarcon ashore on the mainland in Bahía Asuncion to look for water. He found some Indians on the beach who showed him some little holes containing a little brackish water. Vizcaino then ordered Alarcon and Aguilar to go along the coast with four soldiers to another *ensenada* three leagues farther on. They came back after sundown with the news that they had found good water and a saline about two leagues from where they were anchored, and brought back some green tomatoes. Sail was made that night, and at ten o'clock the next morning Vizcaino anchored between another island, which he named "San Roque," and the mainland and ordered Alarcon to go ashore with some soldiers after the water which had been found the day before. Many trails were found here but no Indians. They took some salt and Ensign Suriano with four soldiers ascended San Roque to look for the *Santo Tomás* and see what was on the coast farther on. He found some sealskins in some Indian huts, which he said the Indians used to make sandals.

78. He has the order of the islands just reversed here, as San Roque is the northernmost. L puts Asuncion in $27^{\circ} 52'$ and San Roque in 28° . Asuncion is in $27^{\circ} 6'$ — error, $46'$.

79. In K, no mention is made of seeing any Indians here unless it might be inferred that Suriano had found some on the mountain.

80. In L, it is stated that two leagues west-northwest of San Roque is a point of rock, then three leagues northwest of this a black morro called the Morro Hermoso, and then six leagues across an *ensenada* a point of sierras two leagues long. From the Isla San Roque to Punta San Roque is three miles, then to Punta San Pablo a little over three miles, and then to the present Morro Hermoso twenty-two miles, much more than the three leagues mentioned by Palacios. It seems certain, then, that Palacios' first point was Punta San Roque and that Punta San Pablo was the famous Morro Hermoso. In such case the point of sierra referred to by Palacios was the cliff now known as the Morro Hermoso or Cabeza de Thurlow.

81. *Sp., a todos arrebatava el corazon y la voluntad* — very flowery language.

Commander George Dewey, who published the results of a reconnaissance of this coast in Washington in 1874, was of the opinion that Vizcaino's Sierra Pintada was the range of peaks of variegated color just north of Punta San Pablo, which is a dark slate-colored bluff 636 feet high, as he says that these mountains were composed of bare, naked rocks of varied and beautiful formation, just as described by Father Antonio.

82. This island was given this name later by Palacios. The *Santo Tomás* must have passed it about August 15, the day of the Asuncion de Nuestra Señora, as in E and G that name is applied to the island.

83. That is, kelp.

84. K, "August 23, the *vispera* of San Bartolomé." Captain Palacios marked the bay, which is still known by the same name. His *Derrotero* does not give the latitude, but I puts it as $28^{\circ} 15'$. Punta Tortolo at the entrance is $27^{\circ} 39'$ — error, $36'$.

85. This was reached on August 27, the evening before San Agustín's day.

86. This was where Ulloa had first anchored.

87. A council of war was now held, September 2, in which it was decided to send Palacios, while the ships took water, in the *Tres Reyes* and a shallop, to circumnavigate the island, but not to delay more than seven or eight days. According to K, they did not sail around the island, but apparently when at its north end stood off directly east. The latitude was placed at 29° — error, about $40'$.

88. Another council of war was held September 3, in which it was decided to send out twenty armed men for three days under Suriano and Legar to look over the island for water and wood, and see if it was inhabited, on the theory that this might prove of benefit to the China ships.

89. This watering-place was near the north end of the island on the east side, evidently the same one where Ulloa had taken water and where he had spent so much time. In E, it is stated that the stream emptied at the foot of the highest hill. L places the watering-place

in $28^{\circ} 45'$, and the south part of the island in $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. As the actual latitude of the former is about $28^{\circ} 17'$ and of the latter, $28^{\circ} 02'$, the error in each case was about $28'$.

90. The bay is now known as "Sebastian Vizcaino." This remark of Father Antonio's, repeated by Torquemada, was the source of a later fable that there was a connection here with the Gulf of California.

91. From the name given to the island it appears that Palacios was there about September 8, on which day the birthday of the Virgin is celebrated. Father Antonio, who accompanied him, calls the cactus *viznagas*, a species of cactus with very large thorns which the Indians on the coast used for fish-hooks. L mentions the Punta de San Eugenio in $28^{\circ} 20'$ and the map shows it. It was probably named September 6 after the Cappadocian martyr of that name. It is still known as Punta Eugenio and is in $27^{\circ} 50'$ —error, $30'$.

92. In K, it is stated that they took the image ashore on the 7th and received it with a salute of musketry. The next day Father Tomás preached a sermon.

93. A sea council was held September 9 about the route to be followed and about what should be done in case of storms. Cenizas or some nearer port was appointed as the next place of rendezvous, provided they became separated by a southeast storm, and any good port they might discover or else Cedros itself, provided the storm was from the northwest.

94. In E and G, it is also called San Hipólito, but this must be an error, as according to Vizcaino, this name had been applied August 13 to a bay farther south, and no San Hipólito appears in the calendar to be commemorated on any day in September. In L, Palacios states that in $29^{\circ} 45'$ there were some black cliffs which looked like an island, and that to the southeast of these there was an *ensenada* with apparently good shelter. This point must have been Punta Negra, the southern limit of Bahía Playa María, in about $28^{\circ} 55'$.

95. *Sp., pexes reyes*. *Pejerrey* is the present name for smelt, but whether Father Antonio applied it to that fish or not is unknown.

96. According to K, this occurred on the 13th and 14th. Ensign Alarcon went ashore with twenty men and saw plenty of smoke but no Indians. The bay, located in 30° by the explanation of the plan was no doubt the one they named "Pescado Blanco," usually identified as Bahía Playa María in $28^{\circ} 55'$ —error, $65'$. Although L does not mention the name of this bay, he states that there was an *ensenada* behind a point of low rock three leagues beyond the black cliff. Punta María, the northwest point of the Bahía Playa María, is a low rocky point, but is some ten miles from Punta Negra.

97. E, "a high peak, many fan palms, and a lagoon on the land."

98. Mention is made in L of this bay, which was undoubtedly Bahía Blanca in $29^{\circ} 04'$, recognizable by the lagoon, now dried up. When the *Santo Tomás* came back later to Cedros she must have stopped here on September 27, the day of San Cosme y Damian, and then it was, no doubt, that Father Antonio gave it this name. In E, it is said that Bahía San Cosme y Damian was four leagues northwest of that of San Hipólito. In L, this bay is referred to, without name, as being behind a morro, three leagues northwest of the bay referred to in the previous note. He said the lagoon could be seen from the tops. The morro was no doubt Cone Point.

99. In L, it is stated that the Cabo Blanco de Santa María, evidently this one, was in $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and was eighteen leagues from the Ensenada de Pescado Blanco. The distance from Punta María to Punta Canoas is forty-six miles, and to Bluff Point about fifty-nine miles. Palacios' description of the country north of the *Cabo* would rather indicate that the *Cabo* was Bluff Point, although in this case his league would have been a little over three miles, rather more than usual. It seems clear from the accounts of the voyage that the Cabo Blanco de Santa María was Punta Canoas in $29^{\circ} 25'$, indicating an error of $1^{\circ} 05'$ in the observation of Palacios. It was probably named on September 18, after the Dolores de Nuestra Señora celebrated that day. It appears to have been the same cape as the one referred to later in this narrative as the Cabo del Engaño, although other remarks of Father Antonio make this doubtful.

100. San Cipriano's day is September 26 and consequently the mesas were not named at this time but when the *Santo Tomás* returned, ten days later. The name occurs only in Father Antonio's narrative, but the mesas are described in L. They are the ones visible from the sea after passing south of Punta Antonio.

101. She was an old ship and so Captain Gomez decided to go back to the Bahía del Pescado Blanco, but before reaching it the storm ceased and he turned north again.

102. The *Santo Tomás* disappeared on the night of the 22d. Vizcaino thought she had returned to the Bahía del Pescado Blanco, and started back in search of her and the *Tres Reyes*, which was also lost.

103. As, according to K, all this trouble took place at the Cabo Blanco de Santa María, it seems clear that Father Antonio employed the old name Cabo del Engaño for this cape, which was almost certainly Punta Canoas. Punta Antonio, which was named Cabo Bajo, lies nearly opposite the Isla de San Gerónimo, and no doubt the force of the wind between these during a gale is tremendous.

104. This is an accurate description of the Isla de San Martin, which was the real Cenizas. It is plain that Father Antonio wished us to believe that Cenizas was the Isla de San Gerónimo, just as Palacios and Bolaños asserted it to be. This statement being repeated by Torquemada, coupled with the remarks of Bolaños, gave rise to the insertion on the maps of an island named Cenizas in this quarter and the general omission of the name San Gerónimo for another island close to it. No mention is made in K of the Cabo del Engaño or Cabo Bajo, nor even of the Isla de Cenizas, except indirectly in stating that they kept a lookout for it after leaving the Bahía de San Francisco.

105. In K, it is stated that Palacios said that during the first storm he put into a large bay four leagues away, where there was a great number of Indians, and that during the second storm he was under the shelter of a small island, which he said was to leeward and on which he landed and found no port. The following day, the 30th, the voyage was continued, and by tacking they reached San Gerónimo, which Palacios and Bolaños asserted must be Cenizas. It was decided not to anchor but to proceed looking for a port. The following day, being to the leeward of this island and a stiff northwest wind blowing, another council was held in which it was decided to fall off to a bay some six leagues to leeward and take shelter from the wind. Evidently the same day they reached this bay, as another council was held October 1 in which it was decided to land, make a cast with a net, take a look at the numerous Indians, and hunt for water, while Palacios surveyed the country. October 2, Alarcon with twenty soldiers went ashore and found some Indians who awaited them and to whom some presents were given. The next day, October 3, Vizcaino landed with the two friars, who said mass. Suriano was sent with four soldiers to a very high hill (evidently San Vicente) about two leagues from the beach to see if he could discern the *Santo Tomás*. He did not see her but found a lot of very frightened Indians on top of the mountain. On the next day, that of San Francisco, another mass was said, as stated by Father Antonio.

According to L, the distances on this part of the coast were as follows: from Cabo Blanco de Santa Maria to the Ensenada de San Francisco, five leagues; from the Ensenada to Cabo Bajo and San Gerónimo, nine leagues; from San Gerónimo to Punta Delgada, five leagues. Beginning at Punta Canoas, the distances in miles are as follows: to Bluff Point, thirteen; Bluff Point to Punta Antonio, twenty; San Gerónimo to Baja Point, nine and a quarter. It therefore appears clear that the Ensenada de San Francisco or Ensenada de Canoas, as it is named on the plan, was the anchorage under Bluff Point in $29^{\circ} 34'$, that Cabo Bajo was the modern Punta Antonio and Punta Delgada was the modern Punta Baja. Palacios placed the Ensenada de San Francisco in $30^{\circ} 40'$ —error, $1^{\circ} 06'$. In I, the bay is placed in $31^{\circ} 10'$.

106. K, "the large ones are said to be those of buffalo"; "Vacas de Cibolas" Father Antonio calls them. Nothing can be more certain than that they were not buffalo horns; but rather those of mountain sheep.

107. Still so called, in $29^{\circ} 48'$. I places it in short 31° —error, $1^{\circ} 12'$. In K, it is said that this island was nine leagues from the Baía de San Francisco, and they did not anchor, as there was a strong wind dead ahead.

108. On the 9th a bay was seen to the northeast. A council decided to send the *Tres Reyes* with Palacios to inspect and sound it, but not to land, as many Indians were seen. The location is given as $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. It was no doubt the cove near the old Mission of Rosario.

109. A council was held on the 13th, in which it was decided to go ashore and sound the port and lagoon and look for water and wood. Vizcaino landed and found three settlements and water in a lagoon a league from the beach. The water casks which had been made in Acapulco from old staves were in bad condition, being worm-eaten and pierced by tacks.

110. The water was too far away, so Vizcaino sent Ensign Melendez to look at another *estero* which could be seen in the northern part of the bay. He came back and said there was a large lagoon there, in which there was an anchorage for the *San Diego*, so the anchors were raised and they went there. Vizcaino and his son and Captain Palacios, to make a chart of the lagoon, went ashore with Suriano, Melendez, Aguilar and some soldiers. Bolaños went up the *estero* in a boat to sound it, and the rest of the party went along the beach looking for water. When the tide ebbed, the current was so strong that it turned the ships around like a millrace, so they raised the anchors and went out into the open bay. In the meantime, Alarcon had gone ashore with some pickaxes to dig holes in the sand. He found plenty of good water. A council was held on the 19th, said to have been in short 32° , in this bay. A storm had blown up from the south-southwest, the men were on shore and the question was how to rescue them. E, "there was a bar at the entrance of the *estero*, eleven paces wide, and with three fathoms of water over it; inside there were nine and more."

111. Vizcaino sailed from the port October 20 and encountered the *Santo Tomás* on the following day at two o'clock in the afternoon. This all happened in the bay now known as San Quentin and Puerto San Quentin in about $30^{\circ} 22'$, an error of 1° if Bolaños' latitude and that in L be taken. Palacios states that the point was eight leagues from Punta Delgada. As the distance is twenty-six and a quarter miles, his league is again nearly three and one-half miles long.

112. September 25 Azevedo died. They evidently arrived at the Baia de San Cosme y San Damian and gave it that name on the 27th, as indicated in a preceding note. Vizcaino in his account states that the *Santo Tomás* went to the Baia del Pescado Blanco, but the description indicates Bahía Blanca.

113. This island was the one now called Guadalupe in lat. $29^{\circ} 11'$ and long. $118^{\circ} 17'$, 135 miles from Punta Antonio. In K, it is stated that the *Santo Tomás* sailed forty leagues to the west, so after all she possibly did sight Guadalupe. In E, it is said they named it San Calisto, evidently after that saint, whose day is October 14.

114. *Sp., hizo algun sentimiento y vileza en la madre del espolon y ludia mucho.*

115. This statement is entirely without any previous foundation. He had never said he had seen the Isla de Cenizas, although he had described it correctly, and even says in E that there were many rabbits on it, nor is there anything earlier in the narrative to indicate that they had seen it. It is plain, therefore, that he referred to some other island, apparently San Gerónimo, which perhaps he, like Palacios and Bolaños, wished to believe was the Isla de Cenizas. In G, he states that Cenizas was ten leagues beyond the cape and the same distance from the mainland.

116. In E, it is called a small island with a peak on it, between which and the mainland one can safely pass. This was really the Isla de Cenizas, and according to Vizcaino's narrative he named it after San Marcos, whose day is October 25. There was a San Hilarion, a bishop of Gaul, who had a day October 25, and it would appear that the friars named it "San Hilarion" on the same day. Curiously enough, the name appears on the chart as San Martin, a name afterwards given to islands farther north, and San Martin it remains to this day. San Martin is in lat. $30^{\circ} 29'$, while I places it in short 32° , an error of almost $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, but his statement is obviously incorrect, as M places the Punta de las Virgenes in only $31^{\circ} 40'$, and the island is only ten miles from it.

117. A council was held on the 28th during the northwest gale. They were said to be in 32° , four leagues from land and seven leagues beyond the bay to which it was decided to turn back.

118. After those saints whose day is October 28. In L, it is said that it was *dos leguas* from the Isla de San Marcos, but as the *dos* is at the end of a line there cut off, it must have been *dose*, twelve. This would correspond to the actual distance, some thirty miles. Palacios gives quite a complete description of the bay and the cape and places it in $31^{\circ} 45'$. From his description it is clear that it was Cabo Colnett in $30^{\circ} 57'$ — error, $48'$.

119. E, "some called this bay San Quentin." There were two San Quentins, one whose day is October 29, and the other October 31. In L, the port is located in $31^{\circ} 45'$ — if Bahía Colnett, an error of $45'$.

120. Probably martin feathers.

121. The account of this affair in K is quite different. Briefly, it is stated that Peguero with Ensign Suriano went ashore with some soldiers to hunt for water and found a plentiful supply in some holes they dug near the beach. More than a hundred Indians came up to them in a warlike manner, armed with bows and arrows and missile clubs. They were very insolent and threw stones. The next day Peguero, Alarcon and Bolaños went ashore after water with orders to treat the Indians well and be on their guard against them, but these tried to prevent them from taking water and endeavored to take away their demijohns and barrels. Three guns were fired at them, and as Vizcaino expresses it, "with the noise of the powder and some little stones which reached one in his upper works, they fled with great shouting." Two hours later, having assembled from different settlements, they came back in great numbers, and held councils, apparently to see what they should do. They came towards the Spaniards with their women and children, but armed. Alarcon went out to indicate to them by signs to be quiet and friendly, and the Indians agreed, provided the Spaniards would not fire at them with their harquebuses, which they watched closely. They gave a dog as a hostage and then went away and the Spaniards took water. In E, no mention is made of any being killed; in G, Father Antonio simply says the fight cost the Indians dear.

122. Todos Santos day is November 1. Father Antonio was probably mistaken about the *ensenada* being named "Santiago." See Note 64. It is the bay now known as "Todos Santos," in which there is a large lagoon in the southeastern part. It was variously estimated to be in $32^{\circ} 30'$, $32^{\circ} 40'$, and 33° . Punta Banda is in $31^{\circ} 48'$ — error, about 1° . E, "they reached some high sierras of jutting rock, in the middle of which was a great ravine by which the country inland is reached and through which it seems some river empties. A little beyond is another *ensenada* which was named 'Santiago.'" In G, it is made to appear that the river emptied into the *ensenada* of Santiago, and the bay is said to have been full of docile Indians. In L, the distances are given as twelve leagues from Cabo de San Simon to Punta de Sierras de Humos and then five leagues to Cabo de Todos Santos. From this it appears that the Punta de Sierras de Humos must have been the point now known as Santo Tomás, although this is about forty-three miles from Cabo Colnett, making the league here unusually long.

123. On the plan, "El Calvario" and "Mesa de la Sena," both mentioned in L, are shown on the coast between Todos Santos and San Diego, evidently Sharp Peak and Table Mountain.

124. Vizcaino named them the "Islas de San Martin," after that saint whose day is November 11, and it is stated in K that they discovered them on November 9. The day of the Cuatro Coronados is November 8. They are still known as the "Coronados," the name "San Martin" having been removed to an island farther south. In E and G, they are called "San Martin." The descriptions do not agree. Vizcaino states that the group consisted of two islands and three rocks. In reality, the group consists of two rather large islands and two large rocks between them, as Father Antonio and Palacios describe them. The islands are in about $32^{\circ} 25'$, and as K locates them in full 33° , the error here in the observations is only about $35'$.

125. The bay is still known as "San Diego." As Pt. Loma, at the entrance of the bay, is in about $32^{\circ} 32'$ and as the latitude given in K is $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, the error here is about 1° , but at a council held November 11 the port was said to be in 34° , or an error of $1^{\circ} 30'$. In the council it was decided to send Bolaños in the boats to sound all *esteros* and rivers in order to find the best place in which to anchor, to clean the ships which were in great need of it, and to take water and wood. The council thought the bay was well located for the objects the Viceroy had in view. The day of San Diego de Alcalá is November 12.

126. *Sp., montesillo*. Strictly speaking, a *monte* is not a mountain but a forest or thicket. There is no likelihood, however, that Pt. Loma at that time was covered by trees, unless small scrub oak and bushes could be so denominated. It seems probable, therefore, that Father Antonio used *montesillo* in this case to mean a little mountain.

127. In C, Father Antonio enlarged on this story somewhat. He says the stones seemed to be silver ore, and that the Indians explained to them by signs that a people inland, like the Spaniards, secured silver in abundance from them. He further asserts that the Indians had a name for silver in their own language, and that when Vizcaino showed them some silver bowls and a plate they spun it around, and, pleased by the sound, said it was good and was the same as that possessed by the people just mentioned. When they struck a pewter bowl he gave them, the sound did not please them, and they wished to throw it into the sea.

This story is related in K as having occurred with the Indian who came off when they were opposite Santa Barbara Island. There can be nothing more certain than that the Indians knew nothing about silver; the Spaniards wanted to find it and easily misunderstood the Indians' signs. Father Antonio also speculated as to who these men might be who dressed like them. He was quite convinced in 1620 that they must be Hollanders or Englishmen who had entered by the Strait of Anian and who might be settled on the eastern coast of his Island of California.

128. In C, it is stated that, although the Indians came to see them every day, they always treated the Spaniards with suspicion and never had confidence in them.

129. *Sp., gansos y ansares blancos y pardos*. What the distinction may be between *ganso* and *ansar*, is unknown to the writer, but he evidently meant geese and brant.

130. A council was held November 19 in the port, now stated to be in $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, an observation on land having evidently been made. A rendezvous was appointed at an island in 38° , no doubt the Southeast Farallon, the ships to follow the coast, the *Tres Reyes* sounding. After leaving, Melendez made a reconnaissance of False Bay, called by him "Baia de Baja Entrada." He reported that it was a good port, but only had two fathoms of water on the bar. He found many Indians.

131. Probably San Juan Bay, as on the plan the point north of it is called Punta de Arboleda, that is "Woody Point," just what San Juan Point is.

132. In G, this island, San Clemente, is named. In K, it is stated that they discovered three large islands on the afternoon of the 24th. It is most probable that these were San Clemente, and Santa Catalina as two islands. San Nicolas is much too far away to have been seen, and so was probably Santa Barbara, even supposing that it was not hidden behind Santa Catalina. San Clemente is not shown on the plan. His day is November 23, and that of Santa Catalina November 25.

133. In K, it is said that many canoes came out to the ships, the Indians came aboard and guided them to the anchorage. This must have been at Avalon, as the first anchorage is shown on the plan about there. Vizcaino took six little girls eight or ten years old to the ship, dressed them in shirts and drawers, gave them some necklaces and sent them back. On the 28th there was an eclipse of the moon.

134. A general council was held off the island November 29, in which it was decided to proceed, as the wind was favorable, and not attempt to circumnavigate the island; it must have turned contrary, however, as after proceeding as far as the isthmus they anchored at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th, the day of San Andrés. The latitude when anchored off Avalon in $33^{\circ} 21'$ was given as $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ — error, about 1° .

It is probable that the name San Andrés was given to the port at the isthmus, although it appears on the plan as the name for San Pedro, the place at the isthmus being denomi-

nated the "Puerto de Santa Catalina." The town is shown on the plan at the south end of the bay. In C, no mention is made of this island. In L, San Clemente is called the Isla de San Andrés and located in $33^{\circ} 40'$, even higher than Santa Catalina.

135. He means that the ends were turned up.

136. *Jicamas* are roots, still eaten raw by the Mexicans. The English name for them is unknown to the writer.

137. All this occurred at the isthmus. In K, much the same story is told, except that it is stated that Vizcaino put the name "Jesus" over the head of the devil and told the Indians that that was good and from heaven, but that the idol was the Devil. The flasks in which the Indians carried water are described as being made of something like rattan with a very strong glaze on the outside. Vizcaino crossed to the other side of the island. The Indian town had more than three hundred inhabitants. An Indian woman took out two pieces of Chinese damask, and explained by signs that they had obtained them from some people like the Spaniards who had some Negroes and came in a ship, which had gone ashore in a strong wind farther north and broken up. This is a plain reference to Cermeño's boat which stopped off the island on its way south, and the wreck of the *San Agustín*. Vizcaino wanted some Indians to go along to show him where the ship had been lost (so it is said), although he must have known perfectly well where this had happened. The Indians agreed to go, but on leaving port a head wind struck them, so they went back, as they were in their canoes. At this point in the narrative occurs a remark about a trip the *Tres Reyes* had made to inspect an island which looked like mainland. Ensign Melendez had found many Indians on it, who told him there were some bearded people about. Eight Indians, with beards and dressed in animal skins, had come out to him in canoes. It is impossible to make out just where Melendez went. The name on the plan for Santa Cruz, "Isla de Gente Barbuda," indicates that he had gone there, which may have been the case, although it is somewhat distant from Santa Catalina. In L, the Indians on this island are said to be different from those on the others. It seems that the *Santo Tomás* had been over to San Pedro Bay, as on the plan it is named "San Andrés," and a long island in it is shown named "Isla raza de Buena Gente," the one now known as Dead Man's Island. From a reference in L to the Isla and Ensenada de Buena Gente, it seems likely that this was the real name, and the island was named "Isla raza," that is, "flat island." Certainly the *raza* is not used for "race," as usually translated. There was a San Pedro, whose day is November 28, and the bay is called in I, Ensenada de San Pedro and placed in $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

138. In K, it is stated that they sailed from the Puerto de San Andrés on Santa Catalina December 1, and that day found the *Santo Tomás* and the *Tres Reyes* which had both been missing. December 2 they sighted two other large islands, probably Santa Cruz and Anacapa, and while passing between one, probably the latter, and the mainland, a canoe with two Indian fishermen came out and later another one with the old man.

Santa Monica Bay clearly appears on the plan as "gran ensenada."

139. A great exaggeration even if San Clemente be included.

140. Certainly, if they were near Santa Barbara Island no canoe came out from the mainland. It is strange, however, to see that in the eighteenth century Anacapa Island seems to have been called Santa Barbara.

141. In K, it is stated that the Indian offered a flask of water which he said came from a river, and that when they showed him lead, tin, and silver plates, he struck them with his finger and said the silver one was good and the rest of them were not. In C, Father Antonio did not neglect to relate the story of the ten women for each man.

142. There is no record of this council.

143. There can be little doubt but that this Indian came off from the Mugu towns, that is, from the same neighborhood that Cabrillo called the "Pueblo de las Canoas." On the plans, Pt. Mugu is marked "Punta Rio Dulce" and the river is shown just to the north of it. A short distance beyond this is the "Costa de Barcos." Probably the Rio Dulce was Calleguas Creek or the Santa Clara River, which at one time seems to have emptied into the ocean near this point. On the return voyage Pt. Mugu was named "Punta de la Conversion." From the north this point or the headland clearly appears as closing the Santa Barbara Channel to the south. According to L, the Punta was twenty leagues from Santa Catalina and was low with some trees on it, while Rio Dulce was a small stream two leagues to the north of it. It has been thought by some that the Punta de Rio Dulce, or as afterwards named, the Punta de la Conversion, was Pt. Hueneme, which is a long, low sand point and may have had trees on it at that time, but the position of the point on the plan and the references to it by Bolaños make it practically certain that this opinion is erroneous.

144. The day of Santa Barbara is December 4, but the celebration begins at six o'clock of the day previous. The island of that name, as well as the channel, must have been named about this time. It is probable that they were far enough from the coast to be able to see the island.

145. There are different statements about the number of islands. Bolaños in I states clearly that besides the farallon to the northwest of San Miguel, which he calls the "Farallon

de Lobos," and is now known as Richardson Rock, there were four, the easternmost one being the largest. To the east of this there were three farallons. This is sufficient to identify the latter as Santa Cruz and the Anacapa Islands. On the plan these are all shown with another, apparently misplaced. Between the island named "San Ambrosio" (that is, Santa Rosa) and the "Isla de Gente Barbuda" (that is, Santa Cruz) there is an "Isleo Grande." There is no small island at present between Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa, but there is one named "Gull Island" south of the western end of Santa Cruz, probably the one here called "Isleo Grande." L gives the number of islands as nine, not counting the farallons. This probably includes those at the south.

146. Bolaños in I states that there was an Indian village along the channel where the trees came down from the mountains to the sea, that is, just west of the present City of Santa Barbara. In L, this is said to have been ten leagues east of Punta de la Concepcion.

147. On the morning of the 5th, the *San Diego* was near San Miguel Island. A canoe with two Indians and a small boy came out. An attempt was made to pass between San Miguel and Santa Rosa, but the sea was so heavy that the *San Diego* did not undertake it. The *Tres Reyes* went on, however, and was lost for several days. On the plan, San Miguel appears as "S anicleto." On Navarrete's reproduction the name appears as "San Cleto," a mistake, as on the plans San is never written out but always appears abbreviated as "S," a practice at the time. No mention occurs in any of the narratives of a name for this island. They were there about December 6 and again about January 27. San Anicleto's day is July 14, and why his name should have been applied to it is a mystery the writer is unable to fathom.

M. [trans.], "The point [that is, Concepcion] is in the latitude of $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. The Isla de San Agustin in the latitude of 35° is to the south of it. On the northwest side of this are two small farallons and between them some shoals or reefs, altogether about a league in extent. The Isla de San Gregorio is shown on the preceding leaf." Isla San Gregorio does not appear on the preceding leaf or any other, nor does that of San Agustin. A reference to the plans will show that south of Pt. Concepcion is an island named Isla de Bajos, evidently intended for Richardson Rock, called Isla de Lobos by Bolaños. This must be San Agustin. In such case, the San Gregorio just mentioned was evidently San Miguel. San Gregorio, the Pope, had a day November 28, the nearest of any saint of this name to December 6. The next nearest was San Gregorio, the bishop, December 19. No San Agustin had any day at this season of the year. That Palacios was not altogether mistaken is evident from the fact that John Daniell on his map of 1637 has an island named St. Augustin in this neighborhood.

148. Who saw San Nicolas Island and named it, is uncertain, but it was probably those in the *Tres Reyes*, on that Saint's day, December 6. The name San Ambrosio, whose day is December 7, was given to Santa Rosa Island. Neither Father Antonio nor Vizcaino anywhere mentions Pt. Concepcion, named after La Purisima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, celebrated December 8, but the plan shows it, and L puts it in $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ full, and the middle of the channel as $35^{\circ} 15'$. Pt. Concepcion is in $34^{\circ} 27'$ — error, 1° .

149. They were now north of Pt. Concepcion and among a different tribe of Indians. This is apparent from the reference to rush canoes. Father Antonio's remark about the Indians also indicates that these were different from the Channel Islands Indians. As the ships at this time could hardly have been north of Pt. Sal, the narrative furnishes proof that the Chumash Indians at that time did not live much north of Pt. Concepcion, if at all. It may be noted in this connection that when Gaspar de Portolá with his party reached a place only a league and a half north of Pt. Concepcion, they found a village of Indians who had no canoes, another indication that even in 1769 these Indians were not Chumash. (See Dr. Bolton's *Historical Memoirs of New California*, Vol. III, 162.) On the plan an *ensenada* is shown just north of Pt. Concepcion, and another about the same distance beyond, named "Ensenada del Roque." Then there is about double the distance of a straight coast line to a "Punta que parece isla," and then about half that distance to Punta de Pinos. In L, the distances are given as follows: from Punta de la Concepcion to the first *ensenada*, two leagues; to Ensenada del Roque, three leagues; to the "Punta que parece isla," three leagues, and from there to Punta de Pinos, six: total fourteen leagues. As the actual distance is about 145 miles, it is apparent that there is a serious error in the document. If we read *doce* for *dos*, and *trece* for *tres*, we would have a total of forty-three leagues, and this is probably the correct explanation. On this assumption, the first *ensenada* would be the bight under Pt. Sal, or just possibly San Luis Obispo Bay; the second, Ensenada del Roque, would be Estero Bay with the Morro and the Punta que parece isla, Pt. Sur. On the plan the distances on this part of the coast are considerably shortened.

By taking the number of leagues mentioned in the *derroteros* between well-known places and comparing them with the actual distances, hardly a case has been found in which the league exceeds three miles and a quarter, and in many cases it is less than three miles. The inference is therefore unavoidable that Vizcaino's league was that of twenty to a degree, unless we assume that there was a consistent exaggeration of at least twenty per cent. in his distances.

150. According to K, this happened on the 12th. There were indications that a great number of Indians was settled on the coast, which appeared to be fertile and contained groves of pines and oaks. It would appear that they were in the northern part of Estero Bay, named on the plan "Ensenada del Roque," the island shown being the Morro. As Cermeño had most certainly been in San Luis Obispo Bay only seven years before, it could hardly have been that bay.

151. Melendez said that in the middle of the island there was a town of more than two hundred large houses, in each of which more than forty Indians lived. In the middle of the town there were two poles nailed together with one on top like a gallows.

152. *Sp., garva*, that is, *garua*, a Peruvian word for what might be called a Scotch mist.

153. K, "a southeast wind."

154. This must have been named on or about the day of Santa Lucia, December 13. No doubt an occasional Philippine galleon saw this range.

155. He does not say beyond what. On the plan Pt. Sur in $36^{\circ} 18'$ is shown as almost an island, as it appears to be at a distance. E, "We saw that the coast was good and was covered with trees in the ravines and on the tops of the mountains. Some points extend out to sea to make some *ensenadas* with little shelter. In all of these there is a great number of Indians and a landing can be made in any place with ease. You come to a small island not very high, under the shelter of which there is a good refuge from the northwest and southwest winds. All the coast is of high mountains full of trees, until you reach some very high yellow *barrancas*. In the highest part of these there is a very high peak surrounded by *barrancas* full of very large trees. This was named 'Sierra de Santa Lucia.'" His small island seems to have been the Morro in $35^{\circ} 22'$, and the high mountain, Mt. Carmel, over 4000 feet high.

156. The river was named after Nuestra Señora del Carmelo, the patron saint of the Carmelites.

157. Still so called; it is in $36^{\circ} 38'$.

158. On the 15th Melendez and Flores had been sent in the *Tres Reyes* to examine and sound the port, and look for an anchorage. On their return, Flores brought aboard the *San Diego* a chart of the bay. On the 16th a general council was held, which decided to enter the bay, in spite of the opinion of Alarcon, who wished to go on to the port where the *San Agustin* had been lost, alleging that they had a south wind, were five leagues beyond the port, and had water for fifteen days.

159. Still so called, in $36^{\circ} 31'$; the port is stated in C and generally in the other accounts to have been in 37° — error, about $30'$.

160. This great live-oak was the one under which Junipero Serra said mass a century and a half later. It was still there not more than twenty or twenty-five years ago. By some blundering of the officials of the City of Monterey, the tree had been allowed to die, and when some admirer of Serra came forward with a proposition to erect a monument to him on the site, the dead trunk was uprooted and thrown into the sea. Father Mestres, rector of the San Carlos Church, had it fished out of the water at his own expense and today it is set up back of the church, bearing an inscription that it was the famous Serra Oak, but with no mention of the Carmelites who said mass under it many times.

161. This council was held December 18 and 19 and as the matter was of great importance, the different members presented written opinions. All except Suriano were in favor of sending back the *Santo Tomás*. He said that if they did, it would discourage the rest and she might be lost on the way; it would be better to go on together, as there was enough food to reach Cabo Mendocino, and if necessary one of the ships could be abandoned. Vizcaino put Manuel Sessar Cordero, a sailor, on the *Santo Tomás* as pilot, saying that he had been making observations of the sun up to that time. He also transferred Esteban Lopez, boatswain of the *San Diego*, to the *Tres Reyes* to assist Flores, and put Bartolomé de Oroco, the boatswain of the *Santo Tomás*, in the *San Diego*. Vizcaino disclosed the fact at the meeting that he had a secret instruction to ascend the Gulf of California on his return voyage as far as 37° , two degrees more or less. As a matter of fact, this instruction was contained in his general ones.

162. The letter to the Viceroy is not extant, but in 67-3-27 there is an original letter from Vizcaino to the Council of the Indies. On the back it bears a notation: *No hay que responder*, "Nothing to answer." The following is the translation:

"Your highness will have been advised that the Conde de Monterey, the viceroy of New Spain, charged me with the discovery of the ports and bays of the coast of the South Sea from the Puerto de Acapulco to Cabo Mendocino, in conformity with an order which he received from His Majesty, giving me for the purpose two ships, a launch and a longboat with seamen, soldiers and arms, and supplies and provisions for eleven months. In compliance with this order, I departed from Acapulco, May 5 of this year, and have come engaged in making the exploration, although with much difficulty and labor as the navigation is not known and the winds have been always contrary. With the aid, however, of God and with my always present desire to serve His Majesty fitly, I have discovered many

ports, bays and islands as far as this Puerto de Monte Rey in the latitude of 37°, charting it all, taking soundings and making a *derrotero* as the art of the sea demands, and without missing anything of importance regarding it or whatever of promise the country and the many people in it hold forth. I send a copy to the Conde to forward to His Majesty and to your highness. Besides the fact that the port is in such a favorable latitude to fulfill the intentions of His Majesty for the relief and security of the ships which come from the Philippines, any needs which they may have can be filled because it has a great quantity of pine trees for masts and yards, even for a ship of a thousand tons, very large live-oaks and white oaks close to the beach for building ships, and a plentiful supply of sweet water. The port is well protected from all winds; the country is well settled with Indians and is very fertile. The climate and soil are like those of Castile, and whatever seed may be sown will produce crops. There are great pastures and many kinds of animals and birds, as described in the account.

"I advise His Majesty of the grandeur of this kingdom, how populous it is and how much it promises and how the Indians have given me to understand that inland there are settlements. As the people are docile and affable, I believe that they will easily receive the Holy Evangel and suffer reduction to the royal Crown, and in such case, His Majesty being lord of it all can provide what is most advisable in the matter. For my part, I will serve him faithfully, even to death.

"As I have been detained longer in making this exploration than it was thought would be required, by reason of the difficulties mentioned, the greater part of the food and supplies which were given me have been exhausted, and with the great labor which the men have endured, a certain number have fallen sick and some have died. This has created a difficulty in making the exploration of both Cabo Mendocino and the Gulf of California according to my instructions, without fresh assistance in the way of food, men and supplies. I am therefore dispatching the *Santo Tomás* as an advice ship to the Conde for the purpose of asking him for what is necessary, and of advising him in what place and at what time he should send it, together with the narrative, plans, *derroteros* and an account of everything which I have done on this exploration up to today, so that he may send this to your highness.

"If he should send me assistance I hope in God to render a great service to His Majesty and to discover great kingdoms and riches. Of all that may be done I will advise your highness with truth and fidelity on whatever occasion may offer. May Our Lord keep your highness as Christianity demands and as I your servant desire. From this Puerto de Monterey, December 28, 1602.

Sebastian bizcayno."

163. Very seldom did any ship from the Philippines see the coast in this latitude, although some, no doubt, reached a latitude as high as that.

164. This disease so vividly described was scurvy.

165. A *rabicano* was a horse with a white tail. As elk have whitish hair on their hind quarters, this may have suggested the comparison to Father Antonio. In B, Torquemada printed *pelicano* in place of *ravicano*.

166. A *tirando* was a reindeer. Vizcaino states that he marched across the hill with some soldiers to the Carmel River, where he found a number of these animals, which must have been elk. In appearance, he said, they were like deer, but differed from them in their hides, as the wool dragged along the ground. Each horn, he said, was more than three yards long. An effort was made to kill one of them, but they did not wait long enough.

167. *Sp., de mas de a vara*. This is certainly an error, as seventeen spans is more than eight feet. The bird must have been a California condor.

168. *Lapas* are shell-fish (*acmaeas*) and are still found in Monterey Bay.

169. Abalones. In C, it is stated that the Indians hunted for these shells in order to eat their contents, and this is the only mention in C of Indians at the port.

170. These statements are totally at variance with that of K, and differ materially from that of Palacios in L. In K, some interesting remarks occur about the climate and Indians. On New Year's day, 1603, day dawned with all the mountains covered with snow, making them look like the volcanoes of Mexico; the well from which they were taking water had ice on it more than a palm thick and the jugs which had been left out overnight full of water were frozen solid, so that, although turned upside down, not a drop of water came out. This was the reason why they found no Indians, as they were all living inland. Vizcaino sent Ensign Suriano with four soldiers to an Indian settlement after some, but it proved to be vacant. Captain Palacios in L states: "There are Indians, although they were suspicious about trading with us, I mean, they came peacefully and brought us some shell-fish. In appearance they are good people. They made a great effort to take us to their town, which they said was inland." When Portolá and his party reached this port in 1769 they found it entirely unpopulated; not an Indian was found in the neighborhood of the bay. See Bolton, *op. cit.*, III, 233.

171. In G, Father Antonio says he now was transferred to the *San Diego*.

172. E, "Leaving this port, the coast forms a large *ensenada*, which ends at a low point. The country is massive and full of mountains well covered with trees. The point was named 'Año Nuevo.' Following the coast, you come to another which was named 'Los Reyes.' This is a high headland cut off at the sea, and from a distance looks like an island. To the northeast of it you will find good shelter and here is the Puerto de San Francisco." L places Pt. Año Nuevo in $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ (actual location $37^{\circ} 06'$ —error, $24'$); from there to Punta de los Reyes the distance is given as twenty-four leagues. In M, the distance from Monterey to Punta Año Nuevo is given as ten leagues, and it is stated that: "Six leagues before reaching Punta de los Reyes is a large island, two leagues from land [named on the plan 'Isleo Hendido'], and three leagues northwest of this are the Frayles, seven farallons close together." The name "Hendido," "cleft," is a good one for the Southeast Farallon, which is not a farallon in the proper sense.

173. This was probably January 6, Twelfth Day, or the *Día de los Reyes*. From this the point in 38° derived the name which it now bears. No latitude was assigned to it, but only to the Bahía de San Francisco, or Puerto de los Reyes as M calls it, and to which Vizcaino gave a new name, "Don Gaspar." Cermeño is referred to as Sebastian Melendez Rodriguez in K. B prints his name as Cermeño, and thus he was known to English readers until recently. Palacios never mentions the name San Francisco for the port, but calls it "Don Gaspar."

174. A sea council was held on the 7th in what was stated to be 39° , in which, in view of the heavy northwest gale which began to blow the day before at sundown and the sickness of the crew, it was agreed to fall off to leeward about two leagues to a port where Bolaños said that he had been in the ship *San Agustín*. The ships reached the port the same day, but after anchoring, an offshore breeze came up which obliged them to leave. As they were sailing out, two canoes came up with an Indian in each who shouted out to them to come to the port. They were told to keep on the lee of the vessel, but they did not dare to come to the ship. This bay, which had been named "San Francisco" by Cermeño, is the one now known as Drake's Bay in 38° . Both L and the explanation of the plan give the latitude as $38^{\circ} 40'$, while I places it in $38^{\circ} 30'$ —error, $30'$ to $40'$. The plan shows the anchorage, and the *estero* named "Rio Salado."

175. In K, it is stated that on this day they found themselves as far on as Cabo Mendocino. It is plain from all the accounts that those on board the ship had very little idea of the location of this cape. The ship was too far from the coast at the time to distinguish the topography of the country; all that could be seen was mountains. The statement of Father Antonio of the latitude of the cape, if it were actually the one now known as Mendocino in $40^{\circ} 27'$, was $1^{\circ} 03'$ in error. Bolaños, who was supposed to have seen it when with Cermeño, puts the cape in $41^{\circ} 20'$, or an error of $53'$. From his *Derrotero* and Cermeño's account of his expedition, it appears that their Cabo Mendocino was the headland of which Trinidad Head is a part. This is in $41^{\circ} 03'$, and if so, the error would have been about $20'$. L, "To the northwest a quarter north [that is, of Pt. Reyes], the coast runs on some twenty leagues, the land full of trees, in parts rough, with ravines, and the coast safe. From there to Cabo Mendocino it is of hills and ravines, all with heavy timber, although the *cabo* is bare. Close to it are some snowy mountains, the highest of which is two leagues to the southeast, and nearer to it than any of the others. The *cabo* is in $41^{\circ} 20'$." C, in 42° , E, $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, an obvious clerical error, H, "poco menos de 42° ."

176. The part relating to the discovery of the cape is all a mistake. There is no record that any of Villalobos' ships ever returned to New Spain. As for the route said to have been pointed out by Father Martin de Roda, or Rada, his real name, the one discovered by Urdaneta and which very likely had been incorporated by Father Martin in some of his writings was probably meant.

177. No port was named in the instructions, but only degrees of latitude.

178. This notion that Vizcaino was looking for Quivira was probably an afterthought of Father Antonio's. There is nothing in the instructions to indicate that Vizcaino had any such mission, nor does he refer to it in any of his numerous writings on the subject.

179. This, a general one, was held on the 13th. The pilots Bolaños and Rodriguez declared under oath that the ship was then in about $41^{\circ} 15'$. The instruction to go on to Cabo Blanco in 44° , after reaching Cabo Mendocino in 41° , if the weather permitted, was read. If the coast was not then found to turn west but north or northeast, the orders were to follow it for another hundred leagues, otherwise they were to return to Cabo San Lucas to ascend the gulf. The decision of the council was as stated by Father Antonio, although the wind was west-southwest, but the crew were nearly all sick and winter was approaching. The private instruction was one governing his expedition up the Gulf of California, no doubt much the same as No. 23 of his instruction.

180. In K, it is stated that the observation was 41° . As the day before they had been in $41^{\circ} 15'$, they had gone back some fifteen or more miles and were still farther from Cabo Mendocino.

181. *Al traves* means "wrecked," *mar en traves* means "to lie to, beam to the sea."

182. In C, it is said that this cape was in 43°, and that near it a river discharged, called the Santa Inez; no mention is made of Cabo Blanco proper.

183. We learn from K that on the night of this day at eight o'clock, the ship gave such a great roll that it was thought she was going to turn keel up. All were thrown out of their beds and the *General* struck on some boxes, breaking his ribs.

184. According to K, this happened on the 21st. On the 20th it is said "they were in 42°, the currents and seas carrying them at full speed to the Strait of Anian; they saw the mainland to be covered with great forests of pine trees and much snow, which reached down close to the sea and covered the mountains which looked like volcanoes." All this indicates a country north of Trinidad. The snow which reached the sea was probably white sand, an appearance characteristic of this coast. They must have been out of sight of land from the 17th to the 20th. It nowhere appears that they were near land at any time in the neighborhood where Cabo Mendocino or Cabo Blanco was supposed to be.

185. Davidson thought this was Redding Rock in 41° 22'. *Methods and Results*, 232. Dr. Davidson used the Torquemada Narrative as printed in the *Noticia* of Venegas, which contains the same account of the adventures of the *Tres Reyes* as this. Dr. Davidson did not allow for the fact that the observations for latitude on this part of the coast were at least one-half of a degree too high. More likely, the rock was Sugar Loaf Rock off Cape Mendocino or False Cape Rock.

186. Cabo Blanco, according to Bolaños, who began his *Derrotero* at this point, was massive and apparently ended in a cliff over the sea. It is impossible to identify it satisfactorily. It seems, however, to have been either Pt. St. George or something in that vicinity. In E, it is said to have been in 43° and seventeen leagues from Cabo San Sebastian, where the coast seemed to turn northeast. In the 1723 edition of B this word was changed to *norveste*, that is, "northwest," and so caused Dr. Davidson a great deal of trouble.

187. After that Saint whose day is January 21. It was probably Mad River. See Note 205. Dr. Davidson thought it was Rogue River in 42° 25', but the writer is unable to find anything in the narrative to warrant this conclusion. The river in later years became known as the Rio de Martin de Aguilar, and figured in some of the wild dreams of believers in the Northwest Passage as the entrance to the Strait of Anian. It was especially conspicuous on maps at the end of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth centuries.

188. This description applies very well to that of the coast from Humboldt Bay to south of Cape Mendocino, and is the only indication in any of the narratives that Cabo Mendocino might have been the cape now so called, except the statement in L quoted in Note 175. If we take the scale shown on the plan for this part of the coast, the distance from Punta de los Reyes to Cabo Mendocino was calculated to be about sixty-four leagues.

189. No mention is made of these smokes by Vizcaino.

190. This is an extraordinary statement and one that must be taken with a grain of salt. In K, it is stated that on the 25th they were opposite the Puerto de Monterey. The Indians made some smoke signals, but they did not enter because of the great number of sick on board. There were no medicines or delicacies, the dried beef was rotten, the beans and chick-peas were full of weevils, and the biscuit was all broken. All the men had bad mouths and the ship was like a hospital.

191. It is a pity that Father Antonio does not say where this occurred, as the actions of the Indians indicated that they had already seen Spaniards, who had treated them well, very probably Cermeño and his men.

192. As will be seen later, he says most of the men reached Acapulco in fairly good condition.

193. A most extraordinary statement, but the text hardly admits of any other interpretation, unless it be considered that "His Majesty" meant "God," or was an error for "Dios." In either of such cases, it would be natural to conclude that the Lord would pay or reward the friars, but the pronouns hardly admit such a version.

194. According to K, the ship arrived off the Island of Santa Catalina on the 29th. This is a mistake; a council was held on the 28th, stated to have been off this island in 34½°. In the preamble to the record, it is stated that they had come along the coast looking over again some *ensenadas* they had not inspected on the way up, and in this had been detained some days. It is probable that at this time the name "Punta de la Conversion" was applied to what is undoubtedly Pt. Mugu. The day of the Conversion of San Pablo was January 25, probably a day or two before they reached there. Father Antonio's statement covers very well the conclusions reached in the council.

195. These references to the Isla de San Hilarion and Cenizas prove plainly that Father Antonio's Isla de Cenizas was not San Martin but some other, probably San Gerónimo, as explained in a previous note. The only other theory that could possibly be held, although highly improbable, is that there was some island Father Antonio called Cenizas, farther from the coast than San Gerónimo and much larger, which has now disappeared.

196. Vizcaino had great difficulty in getting this water. Two painted Indians with bows and arrows came down to the beach where they were taking it and made gestures to them to go away. They were so insistent that Vizcaino had to have some harquebuses fired over their heads to frighten them. He states that they sailed at midnight on the 8th.

197. The council was held February 13, off the Cabo de San Lucas. No attempt was made to go after the longboat which they had left in the lake. Some were of the opinion that they should go straight to Acapulco, but as both calkers had died and there were forty-five sick who were dying of hunger, and only two little pigs and two chickens were left, Vizcaino finally decided to go to the Islas de Mazatlan.

198. K, "the 18th."

199. In K the names of these men are given: Andres Leal, Juan Grande, Cristobal de los Reyes, Gonzalo Hernandez, and Diego Lopez.

200. In K the town is called "Saconta," but the witnesses in the *Informacion* of 1603 referred to it as "Mulatos."

201. A vegetable eaten as greens.

202. In K, the fruit is said to have looked like a *pinuela*, probably some kind of maguey or agave, but possibly cypress fruit. Father Antonio notices their resemblance to these. See Note 36.

203. In K, it is stated that they passed the Cabo March 10.

204. *Sp., avio*, usually a supply of money or goods, but at that time it was also used to mean "supply of animals."

205. According to K, after turning back they discovered in 39° 15' a copious river with an island at the mouth of it, making a good safe port. On the plan this appears as Rio Grande de S. Sebastian, and was undoubtedly Tomales Bay, as the river is shown on the plan in the relative position of that bay. They also discovered another great bay in 42½°, in which a very large river entered, no doubt Mad River, which empties into Humboldt Bay. On the plan a very large bay is shown, and a river entering it which has a course similar to that of Mad River. Here a great number of Indians came up in canoes made of pine and cedar boards. They were so numerous that the Spaniards did not dare to enter the river, although the Indians, who gave them plenty of fish, game, hazelnuts, chestnuts and acorns, invited them to do so. In L, it is stated, however, that Melendez ascended the river two leagues and could go no farther on account of the strong current which carried with it many large trees; that the coast then ran north to Cabo Mendocino, then northeast to Cabo Blanco in 43°, and still northeast, although it could hardly be seen. On the return they stopped at Monterey, the port at Pt. Reyes, Santa Catalina Island, and San Diego. All the Indians recognized them, received them well and treated them with great friendliness. They reached Navidad February 26.

206. What happened to Juan Sanchez, the assistant to Flores, does not appear.

207. Vizcaino, in his letter of May 23, 1603, wrote that forty-two all told had died.

208. K, "Saturday, March 18." He was mistaken, Father Antonio was right.

209. Another error; it certainly seems as if Father Antonio had no knowledge of the expedition of Cabrillo.

210. This is an inaccurate expression, *antecos* were those who lived on the other side of the Equator on the same degree of latitude and on the same meridian.

AN IRISHMAN IN THE GOLD RUSH

THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS KERR

(CONTINUED)

SATURDAY 30th MARCH 1850 SAN FRANCISCO

This was a beautiful Day. We all went ashore after breakfast, I & Mills went to look for the Doctor. Could not find him after some 2 hours search one of my fellow passingers said he was aboard; but came ashore again We however soon meet each other, and were glad to see one another in the land of Gold; he informed us land is so high, that it could not be got worth money; we are determined after we got all our things ashore, to start up to the Diggins for this Season, and Come back again, in the Winter, We walked about the town the whole day & talked on different matters, but I was thunderstruck at the Gambling Houses, they are princely the finest in town, its nothing to see a lot of fellows Coming from the Mines sit down at a table and betting perhaps an ounce on the turn up of a single Card; I see little Boys 12 years of age sit down to these tables, and in some cases women are at the head of the table conducting the business, they have splendid music playing to entice the people in to Spend their money; & also have lots of Spirits & Wines which is sold at enormous prices; every thing is quiet here. I see two parties Canvassing for electing a sherriff, for the town fine speeching, in the open street. Went aboard at night

SUNDAY 31st EASTER DAY.

Very fine day slight tendancy to rain; we gone ashore at 11 oc, met with D^r Baird Mills & he & I took a walk out to the mission [Dolores] 3 miles out, we expected to See a fine place, but its a wretched concern, a few mud brick houses built in a sqare, & rudely covered with tiles; we thought to get in to see the chapel but it was shut, there was However a horse race at it, the distance ran was only about 20 perches, I saw a couple of heats, and the last race one of the riders fell on his head, he scarcely moved he lay for an ½ hour, & people flocked about him, he was severely hurt by the fall, couldnt speak, he was Carried to an hospital convenient, I saw some quear characters here, some of the indians, but a little civilized they are most wretched looking people; I saw 2 or 3 Mexicans or Spaniards, butchering a hiffeir of 2 years old and must say they know little about the business; I saw some fine cows & lots of good sheep; the country appears to be very fine, and I'm sure would yield good crops if cultivated but the natives appear to know little about tillage, and are lazy & indolent; we came back to town about 4 oc & had dinner, then walked about the streets I was so much surprised at seeing those dens of infamy open today, I mean the gambling houses, & playing away at their games and at their music also—there is a very filthy smell in many of the low streets from the very bad sewerage regulations but after a little it will improve A man must pay pretty high for everything he eats in this place the cheapest Dinner can be got is 1 Dollar.

MONDAY 1S [1st] APRIL

Very fine day, every thing goes on brisk in town we have an election for Town Sherriff, One Candidate is Col Jack Hayes the Texas Ranger, and is most popular the other is a Col. J. J. Bryant, who keeps a sort of Hotel [the Bryant House, formerly the Ward House] in the Square there is great excitement about it, each have their Brass bands marching thro' town canvassing; I often thought that if we had such electioneering at home we would have some good knocks down, but tho the Yankees shout & make a great noise yet they are peacable, enough.² We have not yet done anything advantageous to the purpose of our coming here, We have taken a room for a fortnight, for which we pay 20 Dollars. When I get my things ashoar I expect if all things fail to take apick in my hand and earn 5 or 6 dollars a day working at the road making; for it will not do to be long Idle here, money soon runs out of a mans pocket, if there be none Coming in; Came on board the London to sleep;

TUESDAY 2nd

We got the Loan of the Captains Boat and got all our luggage ashoar, we thought the Boat would sink or turn over we had so much in her, we had taken a room up the town from a M^r Crawford a Scotchman but lately from China, we are to pay him 20 Dollars per fortnight for this. We also had to pay a carter 4 or 5 dollars for bring those things to our lodgings. I fancy we can live much cheaper here than in a Boarding house.

WEDNESDAY 3rd

At 6oc we arose to cook Breakfast—Mills went out to the Country to cut fire wood; I set too and scoured all the Cooking post &c. Baked Bread, done a Beef stake; & in a short [time] we had a pretty tolerable Bkfst I am rather uneasy, not having anything to do; this will not pay in Calafornia; we must soon set too & work, but If we had the houses ashoar once we would be in a better way of doing Business—

THURSDAY 4th APRIL 1850

day very fine, time hangs heavy on me; for want of something to do; how [long] I shall be thus God knows, there is a heavy rent on us 40 Dollars per month for this little cabin, and nothing coming in, this will by no means pay; I am thinking of taking a pic & spade in my hand & go as a labourer, to Cut down the Hills in the streets, I am told I would get 5 dollars per day at this work. I would soon earn as much as would bring me up to the Diggins; its rather amusing. I Cannot but laugh when I see us 3 sit down to dinner or any of our meals an old box of Alexanders is for the table, the 2 dagers & my bowie Knife is what we Cut our meant [meat] with for a fork we get a bit of a stick and sharpen a point on it, and we drag over two or 3 other Boxes to sit on; we

² "Bryant entertained liberally . . . the drinks were free; but when the famous Texas ranger rode into the plaza on his curveting, prancing black steed, his dash and horsemanship carried the day, and the hotel man was defeated."—Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco*, p. 585.

take our tea or Coffee out of Jugs as we have no cups or Saucers; I am a pretty good Baker I generally make the bread; we take it in turns to go cut firewood which is some mile distant this we have to carry on our backs over hills & hollows. I could enlarge on our housekeeping but I think it no use—

FRIDAY 5th

Mills & I washed a Couple of dozen of articles for ourselves today, this saved us 12 dollars as, the cost per dozen is 6 dollars for washing, in the Evening Cap^t Oneal Came for us to go fish & fowl. We started off in his boat with 3 or 4 of his sailors, & us 3 together with himself & brought a basket full of Bread & meat We also brought our net, we went about 10 or 12 miles & got on land at dark we struck up a tent with the Sails of the Boat, & Kept a large fire blazing in front all night We saw plenty of wild Geese & ducks but there was a pond between us which prevented us getting within shot of them, we however slept as well as we could in the tent till morning notwithstanding it rained heavy all night

SATURDAY 6

At 4 oc we all started off to fowl but tho they were to be seen in Myriads yet we could not get within Shot. I however strayed by the shoar myself and shot a Barnacle, being the only bird we got. We next got into the boat about 7 oc gone into another little creek and cast the net. We proved unsuccessful, got none. We then went some 8 miles distant to Angel Island. Cast the net again & got but a dozen small fish. We had all been wet—fishing is very laborious work. We got back to the London by 2 oc got dinner then and came to our lodgings. We were hardly able to drag a herring off the fire we were so fatigued. M^r Crawford took pity on us & made his wife Bake some bread while he made our Tea & roasted our fish this we thought very kind. I must say that our fishing expedition was very Tiresome & had little for it.

SUNDAY 7

Rain the the greater part of this day I would go to Church but could not find it nor get any information where it was. We felt rather tired after yesterdays work, my mind is very uneasy to think that we are not doing anything Business is very dull people are flocking in to town every day but go off to the mines as soon as possible; I was writing the greater part of the day; making out a list of our things, to pass the Custom House;

MONDAY 8th APRIL 1850

This day was very warm; we have done nothing yet, I am most miserable at the idea of being idle; I have no heart to write or say anything in my Journal. Capt Oneill [of the *London*] was here; and told us 3 of his men, Green, Marley, & McKenna ran away off the vessel last night; M^r Hendren Came to see us, he is engaged in Starkeys store;

TUESDAY 9

Time flies and little doing we are seeing about getting our things clear of the Custom House; would to God we brought nothing in the way of speculation

with us, the ready money in our hands would be much more use to us; its very warm today; we took or rather rented a bit of ground from M^r Crawford; to put the small Iron house on; we are to pay him 15 dollars per month or about £36 per year; this seems a large rent for 13 feet by 26 feet, but we find this cheap here; we intend stoaring the Doctors house and all our luggage in one half & let the other room, & then start off to the Diggins, to try our luck. We comc^{ed} clearing a way for the foundation this afternoon & worked hard at it; with a good spirit—

WEDNESDAY 10th

Finished the clearing of the foundation this forenoon; Mills & I went to the Freemont Hotel [on Battery Street, near Vallejo, John Sutch, proprietor] to see our friend Freeman, he is well, he drinks a little yet Louie the French man is with him to take care of him, he bought a boat, and is organizing a party to start to the Diggins. Brooks was here this morning to borrow money but he got none, we are rather hard up ourselves for cash; beautiful day

THURSDAY 11

Mills is very bad all day with tooth ache;

Wonders will never cease; who would ever expect to see Mills & I carrying a Large boxful of our Cloths & other Traps to the market square, & there spread out the Contents, while I sat by them all day, to sell them; while Mills & Baird Could be seen in another end of the town Carrying a Case of our wine each from the wharf to our lod[g]ings; the Fact of the matter is we must throw shame one side here; no person of common sense in this place is ashamed of doing anything in an honest way; how would I feel if any of my frinds, at home were to see me so; but we must sell off a lot of cloths that we have no use for; I cannot say I was very fortunate in my sales as the proceeds of the whole day amounted only to 4 dols 25 cents; I saw Barley & Smithers today they Just arrived; we beat them from Valparaiso nearly a fortnight.

FRIDAY 12th

Went on board the London with John thinking to get some of our things ashoar, we however got but one boat Load; Its a pity we cannot get at our things; M^{rs} Starkeys & Mayers' houses are on top of ours;

SATURDAY 13

Pretty fine day. Mills & I went thro' the town looking for a Job of some sort; I expected I might have got something to do at Lettering or painting, but it was no go, We next went to look for work, as laborers; we were promised it on Monday, Quarrying at 7 dols per day, provided any more hands were required; only fancy If our frends saw us soliciting work of this sort.

SUNDAY 14th APRIL 1850

This day was very fine, I went to Church which with a good deal to do I found out, being the first place of worship I had been at since I left home; we had a very excellent Sermon; I was very much pleased with it, there was a very good attendance; about 200; the singing was pretty fair, it was accom-

panied by a small organ, the Church was free to every person as the contributions taken at each service; went for that purpose; one of the clergymen also complained of the church being in debt, and unless the parishioners would liquidate it, the establishment would get into difficulties. The Steam Boat *Tennasie* Came in from Pannama, with about 600 passingers;

MONDAY 15

I went to seek the employment I was promised on Saturday, but, on account of their taking no more fresh hands in, I was of course denied—Got the medicines ashoar today,

TUESDAY 16

Doing nothing, am very uneasy on account of it this evening we got the Captains Boat, with the Stuard; and a Dutchman, living near us, accompanied us on a fishing & shooting expedition, about 10 oc we landed on the other side of the Bay, near to the mission, of San Antonio [San José] We camped all night and (early in the morning we went to fowl, after a fateauging days shooting we had but 9 geese, between us 5, we left for Sanfrancisco, about 7 oc at night, & after much labour, difficulty we were landed at Starkey's wharf about 1 oc next mornng I was very tired of this expedition.)

THURSDAY 18th

We sold 2 pair of the Geese, at 3 dollars per pair, made one a present to Mrs Crawford & eat the other ourselves; we are very tired after our pleasure trip

FRIDAY 19

Still going about idle how long this may be the Case God only knows, this pays very badly in a place like Calafornia where things are so expensive had we our houses ashoar we we would soon be at work of some sort, put a letter to M^{rs} Kerr in the office, the steam Boat leaves tomorrow for Pannama—

SATURDAY 20th

Barley Mills & I, & a M^r Gordon hired a boat at 5 dols per day to go a shooting we left here at 4 oc afternoon, and before dark we had the boat safely moored the other side of the water, about 3 miles from where we were the last day went a shooting, after we [had made] a fire and Coffee, &c. we rambeled about thro' an extensive marsh for two or 3 hours, got no shot, we then went back to the Camp where we slept very comfortably all night before a good fire,

SUNDAY, 21st

We arose about 5 oc made some breakfast & about 7 oc we went farther up the Bay to the place we were before; each of us took separate routes, and met again by 12 oc to have some dinner, none of us then killed anything but Barley, who had 1 duck 1 Curlew & 2 or 3 snipe & 1 goose—

After dinner each of us went to try our luck again, at night we met at our camp, I had 8 very fine fat geese, Mills 1 & the others nothing Mills & Gordon,

went to the Rantio of San Antonio³ a native, who has a large tract of country & well stocked; his place was about 6 miles from us, they were received very kindly by the mexican or Spainyard, got a splendid dinner, &c. he hinted something to Mills that he would wish to get a person who understood farming, & the management of Milk & Butter &c., but Mills not speaking Spanish & his friend Gordon but very badly could not well understand the old chap, we remained at our Camp all night, this is life in the Bush

MONDAY 22nd

Shot nothing today started about 10 oc for home; Mill & I had to pull the most of the way as the other two were too lazy we got to town about 1 oC, we sold all our fowl, 2 pair of which I got 4 dols per pair for & the other two 3 dols per, I shot two Brace of snipe which brought 2 dollars. We are very tired today

TUESDAY 23

I find another steam Boat arrived from Pannama. I went to Starkeys & had a letter from my Dear Margaret, am much delighted to find, she and all friends well;

WEDNESDAY 24

Still awaiting to get our houses ashoar, but no appearance as yet what a sad state of things we 3 are thinking of going over to Old Antonio to enter into arrangements, about farming, with him

THURSDAY 25th APRIL 1850

Weather as usual rather cold in the mornings and evenings But very warm in the middle of the day; got some of our things ashoar, this evening.

FRIDAY 26

We are pretty busy getting our things carted from the Wharf; little news of any importance.

SATURDAY 27

We are principally employed today packing the Frame &c of the Doctors House under neath the small one we are about to erect.

SUNDAY 28

I went to church in the forenoon, likes the discourse very much, but dont think so much of the music—they Psalms are sung like songs or Ballas; and the Tunes by no means as fine as *Weymas*, afternoon preparing for the post as the steamer leaves for Panama; on Wednesday the first May;

MONDAY, 29th

We were putting in and levelling posts to place the house upon; The Doctor went aboard to select some of our houses, returned, with the Capt & Mr Smith

³ The San Antonio grant was the well-known Peralta ranch which extended from San Leandro Creek to El Cerrito on the East Bay shore, and included the present sites of Berkeley, Oakland, and Alameda. Sergeant Luis Peralta, the original grantee, divided the land between his four sons, Ignacio, Antonio, Vicente, and Domingo, who built adobe ranch houses at what are now San Leandro Creek, Fruitvale, and South Berkeley. It seems probable that Kerr on his second trip landed in the vicinity of San Leandro Bay and visited Antonio Peralta at his place on what is now Peralta Avenue in Fruitvale.

a young man who came out with him from Panama—he had formed a party of 6 a few days after they landed; & gone up to the Stockton mines at Carsons Creek—he worked with his friends there for a week and is just come down & gives the mines a wretched acct, he goes home, on Wednesday by the Steamer he is from Co Waterford & has a property of £300 per year the remainder of his company he expects will be down in a few days, too, he gives Calafornia up as a bad job

TUESDAY 30th APRIL 1850 & MAY

We got nothing landed today, as there was an election in town for some of the City officers;⁴ little business transacted when Electioneering is going on, M^r Smith the Young man I spoke of yesterday calls for our letters this evening to bring them to New York & there drop them in the Post office, I sent a long one to Mrs Kerr together with a newspaper which I posted here, sent a letter to my sister & another to William Halpin.

WEDNESDAY 1st MAY 1850

Got one load of things ashoar; Mills & I nearly walked the shoes off our feet looking for something to do, but in vain, there are too many here see[k]ing employment—

THURSDAY 2nd

We this day put up the Entire frame of the small house I did not think we would get on so well with it;

FRIDAY 3rd

Wedging and squaring the frame; also moved it out; a little; have it ready for, the Iron sheeting, this is not yet ashoar, we will likely be humbugged with it for awhile

SATURDAY 4th

This will be a memorable day to many of the inhabitants of San Francisco, as the principal part of the town was burned down; about 4 Oc this morning we had been awoke by the call of fire & the tolling of Bells. I immediately got up and saw a fire, in the Empire the principal Gambling house in the Portsmouth square and as I was leaving the door to go down to it I saw the American flag which constantly waved in the air some 12 or 15 feet over the top of building burn to atoms—Whin I reached the top of square at the Custom house, the fire was magnificent, & the heat thrown from it very intense, I formed another of the then few spectators, which in the course of an hour or two the Crowds were great, yet no person could be of any material service the fire rather getting stronger & making its ravages fast, as the wind; the houses in the square were in good order for a fire, being from two to 3 stories high and the wood as dry as powder made it ignite very quick; many of them had tarred felt on the roof, which also spread the fire; most of the people who lived adjoining to the fire, used every possible means in Keeping it off their own place by spreading wetted

⁴ The City Charter was submitted to the people the following day and the first election under it took place then.—*Annals of San Francisco*, p. 273.

blankits on the roofs & sides next the fire, they kept it off thus for little time only; every one in the square were saving as much of their goods as they could before the fire reached them; and at about 9 oc the fire was nearly got Extinguished, but not without very serious damage and loss of property the very best part of the City was left in ashes in 4 or 5 hours truly it was a visitation of the Almighty's and a just one too, the fire it is said commenced in the United States another Gambling house next to the Em[p]ire; the Greater part of the houses in the square were those of infamy in fact they could be called nothing short; of houses of the Devil I often thought this would be the end of such places yet no person but one going in and seeing them could believe the extent to which Gambling and profanity were carried on; they also sold spirits in those places and the walls were hung with pictures of naked women in different postures, as large as life 5 houses occupied by ladies (not) bad character were consumed in the flames; Indeed I was glad to see those & the gambling houses, Burned But sorry to see honest hard working merchants & shop keepers suffer by it, after the fire was put down it was lamentable to go round and see what havock had been made in provisions and property of every description, Hardware, Jewellery, Hotels &c. the loss of property must be very considerable indeed but my attention had been drawn to a crowd in the Square about 2 hours after the fire was over and on seeing found that some of the Gamblers who had been deprived of their house room, had spread their table in the open street close by where his house once stood and worked away at his old trade as if nothing had happened; I had been horror struck at this, as I knew that those fellows were in all probability the cause of such destruction; for Sunday and Saturday was all alike to them; always those people were found at their tables and would have their musicians playing to entice people into their rooms, about 4 months ago, a fire broke out in the same house that this did which levelled every house in the square, but went no farther, it done little damage in comparison to this the houses were just put up after the last fire & one in particular a 4 story house the largest in the town was almost finished it was also brought to ruins too It is unnecessary for me to dwell longer on this subject but suffice to say that it is supposed 2 Boys were burned, who where sleeping in one of the houses in Portland [Portsmouth] Square & that the loss of property is enormous, towards evening I see a Tent put up in the Square and timber carting to erect other buildings!⁵

SUNDAY 5th MAY

Day fine; the Town looks a perfect wreck the timber of the foundations of many of the houses is yet burning slowly. Was not at church

MONDAY 6th

Got the Iron sheets of our small house ashoar & joined putting some of them on;

⁵ This was the second great fire. The burned district included the four blocks bounded by Jackson, Montgomery, Dupont and Clay streets.

TUESDAY 7th

Still working at our new house; and as usual Morning and evening exceedingly cold and excessively hot in the middle of the day—The houses in the square are about to be put up quick.

WEDNESDAY 8th

Many people are today say about 30 on their knees in square picking up Gold dust—Houses are going up fast again in the Burned district;

THURSDAY 9th

Putting on the roof sheets of house, the Gold is yet picking up in the streets of San Francisco many people suppose that it had been lost by those who had it, but this I don't believe, it would not be lost all over the town people are picking it in small quantities in almost every street in town⁶ — There is a Gent a Spainyaird formerly from Manilla & latterly China, who has some property in Eliza City 200 miles up the [Sacramento] river; Saw us at our Iron house, said he had an Iron house to put up there and seemed anxious to enter into arrangements with us about Building it for him We said we would look at the plan of it and consider what we could put it up for.

FRIDAY 10th

Got on pretty well with our house Went to see M^r Guitarais [Gutierrez,]⁷ also went to see the Iron work for his house, told him we would put it up for 250 Dols he paying our expenses up to Eliza City [on Feather River] & Back again, also finding us Lodgings while at it, but we diet ourselves, the house is about 10 feet high 45 feet Long about 36 feet wide with 5 feet of a Varanda Mills & I think we can put it up in about 2 weeks;

SATURDAY 11th

Have got the roof finished; and other little things done to the house;

SUNDAY 12th

Spent this day in [Portsmouth] Square picking up particles of gold; did not get more than 10 Grains which; I purpose sending home as a specimen of Gold picked up in the town; am very much surprised to see the progress made in getting up houses again in the Burned district some are quite Completed and Carrying on the Gambling again but most of the erections now are not near as fine as those which had been up before

MONDAY 13th MAY

Weather as usual no rains but heavy dew at night cold in the morning and Broiling hot in the day—flooring &c. the Iron house, am getting rather uneasy at being so long without earning any money; and beginning to think that M^r Guitaries has no Idea of giving us the putting up of his House at all

⁶ Bayard Taylor and others have reported the finding of gold in the city streets at about this time. Some of it may have been scattered from the gambling tables during the fires.

⁷ It is barely possible that this man was a descendant or heir of Pablo Gutierrez, the original grantee of Johnson's Ranch in Yuba County. It is stated, however, that Pablo Gutierrez' claims were sold after his alleged death in 1844 or 1845.

TUESDAY 14th

The Doctor went aboard to see about getting the windows landed which he did Mills & I are making some little alterations to the windows. While I am thinking of going down town to seek a job of Carpenters work M^r Guitaris Called on us to say the schooner was Come and will be taking the Iron hous aboard on the morrow & sails on Thursday, wished us to be ready to sail on her. We said we would—

WEDNESDAY 15

Put the Windowshashes in and are making some little preparations for sailing next day;

THURSDAY 16

Called on Mr. Guitaris said the schooner would not sail till Monday—we are beginning to think that she is not going at all but surely he is not going to make a fool of us; we have this day purchased 7 Dollars worth of tools—

FRIDAY 17th MAY 1850

Still doing little to the house hung a door and glazed the Windows; D^r Baird delivered Mr^a. Crawford of a fine son, she is rather weakly, yet—

SATURDAY 18th

I made a door tody for the end of house—took our tools to a grind stone to sharp up

SUNDAY 19th

We are working hard today putting things in order and taking our luggage & medicines from the house we have taken from Crawford to our Iron house —

MONDAY 20 VOYAGE TO ELIZA CITY

Went to M^r Guitaris and learned from him the Schooner sailed today & for us to be ready at 9 oc, which we accordingly were; left a letter with Baird to post for M^{rs} Kerr; I sent the Gold I picked up in the square in it together with a ground plan of the Burned district & a sketch of the Houses in flames, on the 15th inst I sent her 2 newspapers, giving an acct of the Conflagration—I also gave an abstract of the Burning in my letter

Baird expects to follow us in a few days M^r Guitaris will be then going up & its more than probable they will be both together. We brought the large net with us; W[e] sailed about 12 noon. M^r Guitaris' Brother & another young man a frind of his together with 6 or 8 China Men; they are first to set up some China houses for him & then start to the mines—

[TO BE CONTINUED]

AUCTION SALE OF CALIFORNIANA

It is eighteen months since any notes have appeared in this department of the *Quarterly*. During that interval there has been no general sale of Californiana, although sundry items as is usual have appeared in some of the numerous auction sales that have been held since the great Braislin sales of March and April, 1927.

Catalogue. Auction Sale. Rare Californiana from the estate of the late Tom Jennings, including many items that have not appeared at recent offerings [etc.]. October 30, 1928, at the Butterfield Studios, San Francisco.

This collection contained about 190 lots of Californiana, none of which was unknown, and very few of which might be described as "rare."

It had, however, several features of real merit. It was entirely of Californiana. The late owner, Thomas Jennings, was well and favorably known, and he had assembled this modest collection with unusual intelligence and discrimination. If therein there were but few rarities there was also a most noticeable absence of trash. So far as it goes, the contents of this little Jennings collection might justifiably and profitably be accepted as a model for the formation of any library of similar character, either public or private. The edifying and extraordinary divagations of the printer of course may be entirely ignored and left out of the picture.

14. Bigly, Aurifodina, N. Y., 1849, \$8.00
15. Bryant, What I Saw in California, N. Y., 1849, \$9.00
16. [Robinson], Life in California, N. Y., 1846, \$43.00
22. Bancroft, History of California, S. F., 1890, 7 vols., \$28.00
28. Fremont, Narrative, Syracuse, N. Y., 1846, \$23.00 (an unusual price)
30. Borthwick, Three Years in California, Edinburgh, 1857, \$14.50
38. Colton, Three Years in California, N. Y., 1850, \$9.00
52. Davis, Sixty Years in California, S. F., 1889, \$15.00
55. Delano, Life on the Plains, Auburn, 1854, \$9.00
60. Degroot, Recollections of California Mining Life, S. F., 1884, \$6.50
61. Eldredge, History of California, N. Y., 1915, 5 vols., \$20.00
64. Engelhardt, Missions and Missionaries of California, S. F., 1908-15, 5 vols., \$27.50
68. Frost, History of California, Auburn, 1853, \$8.75
71. Figueroa, Manifiesto to the Mexican Republic, S. F., 1855, \$90.00
86. Hall, History of San José, S. F., 1871, \$11.00
136. Seyd, California and Its Resources, London, 1858, \$11.50
138. Stockton, Sketch of his life, N. Y., 1850, \$8.50
144. Taylor, Eldorado, N. Y., 1850, \$12.00 (This work with its eight tinted plates is well known to collectors. It has remained for the printer to discover a unique edition which he has described as having "tooled plates.")
154. Venegas, Natural and Civil History of California, London, 1759, 2 vols., \$84.00
155. Vancouver, Voyage of Discovery, London, 1801, 6 vols., \$105.00
168. Woods, Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings, N. Y., 1851, \$8.25

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

SOUVENIRS OF AN INTERESTING FAMILY

A NOTE

The September *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society contains an article concerning the Chapmans, a family of English actors and actresses who played a considerable part in the development of the drama in the California of the gold-rush days and later.

Some statements in this article have been challenged by Mr. Charles Phillips and Miss Jessie Edwards, collaborators in a study of the early stage of the Pacific Slope. They state that William, not Samuel, was the name of the head of the family which came to America; that George Chapman and his wife did not come to California until 1851, and that the American Theatre with which they were connected was in Sacramento, not in San Francisco. They also throw doubt on the management by the older Chapman of the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, though, unquestionably, he was a member of the company.

The article in question was not intended to be a history of the Chapman family; that is a longer story and a very interesting one. It was written to draw attention to the collection pertaining to the family, which was loaned to the Society by a descendant who, together with a cousin, furnished most of the information which was the basis of the sketch. Their reminiscences, passing through the memories of two generations, may require checking with records of the time.

HELEN THROOP PRATT.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Hell-roarin' Forty-niners. By Robert Welles Ritchie. New York: (J. H. Sears Co.), [1928]. 8°.

In the history of California as in all other history there are numerous individuals and many events that have not been cited in the established records. Some accounts of both, it is true, have long been buried in early and obscure newspaper files now almost forgotten. Others have been perpetuated almost entirely by oral tradition, which, even though garbled or distorted, still rest upon a foundation of fact.

Our eminent historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, knew well and fully appreciated these phases of history, for forty years ago he embodied many of them in his "California Inter Pocula." "California between Drinks" was truly a fitting title and happily bestowed, but it would illy become this day and generation if the last parched and protracted decade were to receive due and loyal consideration.

Bancroft has ably characterized these features: "So full of oddities, and crudities, and strange developments, consequent upon unprecedented combinations of nationalities, characters and conditions, were the flush times of California, that to condense them into the more solid forms of history without to some extent stifling the life that is in them and marring their originality and beauty is not possible. There are topics and episodes and incidents which cannot be vividly portrayed without a tolerably free use of words — I do not say a free use of imagination."

It is in this same field that Robert Welles Ritchie has labored, but without trace or suspicion of plagiarism. He has travelled over many long-abandoned roads, has trodden many dim trails; has gone into almost inaccessible mountain towns and dead mining camps; like the miners of whom he has written, he too has prospected widely, but his outcroppings and pockets have been early newspapers wherein the "color" has been rich and the "pay-streak" ample; and finally he has assembled the thin line of the survivors of yesterday, has awakened their slumbering memories, and parenthetically speaking may have been enabled fortunately to stimulate their dry inner-consciousness. We do not know Mr. Ritchie, but from his book we know what he should be.

The results have been 300 pages of unusual and perfectly good reading. Herein are tales of strange characters, picturesque miners, unholy gamblers and killers, tribulations of the crafty and despised Chinese, scenes in primitive courts of justice, and tales of gold-hunting. Among the longer chapters are "The Hanging of Juanita"; "The Sage-Brush War"; "The Tevis-Lippincott Duel"; and "The Story of Lucky Bill."

The author has imagination, humor, and a dramatic sense. He has also that rarer faculty which has permitted him to disassociate the real and the unreal. Whether fantastic or spectacular, picturesque or sordid, tragic or pathetic, Mr. Ritchie has given us not fiction but fact, and he has told it well.

The book is accompanied by good illustrations, some of which would appear to be quite new.

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

The Pacific Typographical Society and the California Gold Rush of 1849. By Douglas C. McMurtrie. Chicago: Ludlow Typograph Company, MCMXXVIII. 20 pp., 8°.

This charming little book is another of Mr. McMurtrie's contributions to western printing history. It deals with an early printers' labor organization and reproduces *in extenso* an article from the *Alta California* of October 28, 1851, in which the editors of that then leading journal explain and attempt to justify their position in "exercising the right of controlling their own business in their own way" by refusing to have anything further to do with the "Pacific Typographical Society," under which sonorous title the journeymen printers of the city had for a time successfully organized to control wages and hours of labor.

As Mr. McMurtrie states in his introduction, it is unfortunate that we have a record of the employers' side of the question only. The fact that the *Alta California* soon lost its supremacy and was sold in bankruptcy early in 1855 may, however, be of some import in connection with this controversy.

This little volume is printed in the "Nicolas Jenson" type recently designed for its publishers by Mr. McMurtrie on a pattern closely approximating original Jensonian models. It is hoped that he will continue his studies in the field of early western typography, and that they may be brought to us from time to time in equally delightful and appropriate format.

CARL I. WHEAT.

Poker as it was played in Deadwood in the fifties. Palo Alto [privately printed], 1928. 8°.

The above is the title of an attractive little, paper-covered book of which one hundred impressions were struck by Carl I. Wheat at his "Wheatstalk Press," which is described in the colophon as being "under the oaks in Palo Alto, Alta California."

Mr. Wheat states that the book was made primarily for fellow-members of the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, the quaint drawing which adorns the title page being by W. R. Cameron, also of that club. It is stated for the instruction of the reader that "this phantasy of early California, of which the author is unknown, first saw the light in *Hutchings' California Magazine* in August, 1858." The scene is laid in the Justice Court having jurisdiction over this particular Deadwood. Here Steve Lick, under oath, and with great particularity, tells how Bill Breese, by scratching his foot on several occasions after the "draw," was able to convert a pair of deuces into four aces, while his no less eager, but more conservative opponent, Lem Hanks, was content to improve his hand by exchanging, with the aid of his shirt sleeve, two sixes for three bullets. The keen interest of the Justice and his determination to bring out all the facts concerning the game, including the idiosyncrasies of the players, all over the objections of two technical lawyers and the enthusiasm shown by the jury, are delightful features of the story. The story is well told in the manner of Bret Harte and presents a delightful episode of early California life.

CHARLES P. CUTTEN.

Mission Dolores (San Francisco de Assis), San Francisco, being extracts from Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt's book "Mission Dolores."

Privately printed at San Francisco, December, 1928, by Finn J. Angell and Herbert Fahey. Small 8°, 104 pp.

This reprint of portions of Father Engelhardt's interesting and highly readable work on the Dolores Mission has been published by Messrs. Angell and Fahey in an edition of but two hundred and twenty-five copies for private distribution only. It is embellished with several pleasing illustrations and initial letters from the hand of the well-known artist, William Wilke, and has been encased in an attractive binding by Ralph A. Liddy and Dave J. Steffens.

It seems most fitting that these San Franciscans should thus have collaborated to produce at the Christmas season such a satisfying edition of this, the best account of the life and works of the friars of St. Francis at "Dolores." No person has more carefully or studiously delved into the archives of the Franciscan epoch in California than has the now aged Father Engelhardt, to whom a debt of gratitude is owed by all who interest themselves in these affairs of the past.

Himself a Franciscan, it is but natural that this noteworthy historian should feel deeply the spiritual urge which sent his predecessors into this far-away land. Who, therefore, shall blame him if at times he sees the Franciscan era of California through rose-colored glasses? His researches into the original source material have been profound and long-continued, and his work will no doubt long remain the general basis for future studies of the period.

C. I. W.

California Historical Nugget, Vol. 2 (New Series), No. 1, Sacramento, October, 1928. 8°, 16 pp.

Under the above title, "The California State Historical Association," an organization under the control and responsibility of the State Board of Education (the members acting as trustees) resumes the publication, through the State Printing Office, of a small periodical formerly published under other auspices. It is edited by Owen C. Coy and will be published monthly from October to May, being declared to be "a popular magazine for schools and the general reader."

The number here reviewed contains a brief and readable but undocumented story of the voyage of Rodriguez Cabrillo to the northwest coast; a resume of Albert de Cordoba's engineering activities in California from 1795 to 1798, and a short popular discussion of the manzanita and madrone. It is stated that there is in preparation "The California Historical Review," a quarterly to be devoted to "historical scholarship and research." The address of the "Association" is given as 3551 University Avenue, Los Angeles.

C. I. W.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The Society held a luncheon meeting on Tuesday, September 25, 1928, at the Clift Hotel. The speaker was Mr. Cyril Clemens, President of the Mark Twain Society, his subject, "Mark Twain in the West."

Mr. Clemens dwelt briefly on Mark Twain's boyhood days and the conditions under which he grew up. He spoke of his life as pilot on the Mississippi and of his wartime dislocation from this occupation. This made him glad to accept his brother's offer to help him in his new office of Secretary of State of Nevada and led to his overland journey to Carson City. The years in Nevada were reviewed in some detail, with all the moves from bad to worse until he became a journalist.

Mr. Clemens then covered more at length the stages of his career as a writer and lecturer up to the time that he left for the east with his first great success just ahead of him.

The story was told in a sympathetic spirit and gave the audience some new light on a well-known career. Thirty-eight members and guests were present.

On Tuesday, October 16, 1928, the Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel. Dr. Charles Francis Griffin was the speaker. He addressed the Society on the subject, "Sixteenth (Center) Street, San Francisco, in 1857."

He exhibited a painting by Mrs. Mary Park Benton, wife of Reverend John Eliot Benton, depicting the area between Howard and Valencia, 13th and 16th streets in 1857, and used it as a text in describing the scene and the inhabitants of the houses shown. He told of searching the entire City Directory for the year 1858 for the names of all who lived within the area.

He paid a tribute to the painter of the picture for her self-sacrificing efforts in behalf of the community where her husband was settled as pastor. She and her husband did not stay long enough to see the city grow out and cover the almost rural scene she preserved in her canvas.

There were fifty-two members and guests present.

On Tuesday, November 20, 1928, the Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel. Mr. Francis P. Farquhar spoke on "Exploring California, 1860-1873." His talk dealt with the State Geological Survey, organized and conducted by Professor Josiah Dwight Whitney. After enumerating and briefly characterizing the more important members of the survey, he told of the activities of the survey and the area covered, year by year. The published reports and the training given to Clarence King during this survey formed the basis from which Congress was led to create under his guidance the United States Geological Survey. He then gave a brief account of the subsequent activities of Professors Whitney and William H. Brewer, Hoffmann, King, Gardiner, and Cooper.

In conclusion he read some extracts from the letters of W. H. Brewer, giving a day by day account of the activities of the party and the impressions made by the scenes through which they passed. Fifty-five members and guests were present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

A GIFT OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE MARIPOSA ESTATE

The Society has received, as a gift from Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, a set of forty-seven large photographs of the Mariposa Estate taken by C. E. Watkins about 1864. At that time Mr. Olmsted's father, the late Frederick Law Olmsted, Senior, was manager of the Mariposa Estate, and these pictures were taken for him and have ever since been in the office of the Olmsted Brothers, landscape architects, at Brookline, Massachusetts. Mr. Olmsted's interest in California scenery and historic landmarks, aroused through his recent survey for the California State Parks Commission, prompted him to place these valuable historical photographs where they would be available to students of California history. Among the views are the town of Mariposa, Mormon Bar, Bear Valley, Frémont's house and headquarters, and several mining mills, including the noted Benton Mills on the Merced. The photographs are approximately $13\frac{1}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, and are mounted on cardboard.

NEW MEMBERS

PATRON

Phillips, Mrs. Lee A., Los Angeles

ACTIVE

Berkeley Public Library, Berkeley

Coy, Owen C., Los Angeles

Gray, Theodore, Berkeley

Holladay, E. Burke, Pasadena

Howard, Walter, Oakland

Kirkpatrick, H. C., San Francisco

Leach, Frank A., Diablo

Ledyard, Edgar M., Salt Lake City, Utah

Marston, George W., San Diego

Mechanics' Institute, San Francisco

Miller, Albert K., San Francisco

Molera, Miss Frances M., San Francisco

*University of California, Library of Branch of the College of Agriculture, Davis

* Gift of Mr. Templeton Crocker.

IN MEMORIAM

MRS. HENRY W. SEALE

Mrs. Henry W. Seale, who died in San Francisco on October 5, was born in New Orleans, the daughter of Jesse D. Carr and Elizabeth Wood Carr. Her father arrived in San Francisco August 18, 1849, was a member of the first California legislature, in which he was chairman of the Committee of Commerce and Navigation and of the Ways and Means committee, and was later Collector of the Port in San Francisco. In 1859 he moved to Monterey County, where he became one of its largest land owners. After Mrs. Seale's mother died, she was constantly with her father, traveling with him extensively, but always claiming California as her home.

In the 70's she married Mr. Henry W. Seale, who died about ten years later. Mr. Seale, who was a friend of Senator Stanford, owned the Mayfield Ranch, on which the family lived for a number of years. A portion of this ranch was sold to Senator Stanford and is part of the property on which Stanford University now stands. Mrs. Seale enjoyed the friendship of many prominent people, among them Senator and Mrs. Gwin and Colonel John Hays, first sheriff of San Francisco. She was present at the inauguration of President Cleveland, her father being a friend of the President. In 1903 she was made a director of The Bank of Monterey, in Monterey, which position she held until 1923.

She was a charter member of The Woman's Auxiliary of the Society of California Pioneers, the Women's City Club, the Women's Athletic Club, and the San Francisco Women's Club; she was also a member of the California Historical Society, the California chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sorosis Club, California Club, Town and Country Club, and the San Francisco Musical Club.

Mrs. Seale left legacies to many charitable institutions. She was a woman of strong character, a good friend—one who will long be remembered and respected.

FRANCES M. MOLERA.

IN MEMORIAM

CHARLES A. SULLIVAN

Charles A. Sullivan, who passed away on July 12 after a brief illness, was born in San Francisco on June 21, 1861, the son of John Sullivan and Ada E. Sullivan. His father, John Sullivan, a prominent pioneer, was a member of the Murphy-Weber party, which crossed the plains in 1844 and reached Sutter's Fort in October of that year. This party has the distinction of being the first that succeeded in bringing wagons over the Sierra. The elder Sullivan, realizing the future of Yerba Buena real estate, purchased in 1847 the two 50-vara lots on the southwest corner of Pacific Street and Grant Avenue, on which his residence is shown as No. 13 on Swasey's Map of San Francisco, published in 1847. This property still remains in the Sullivan family, its ownership being vested in the Sullivan Estate Company, of which Charles A. Sullivan was president at the time of his death.

Mr. Sullivan's mother, who prior to her marriage was Ada E. Kenna, was a charming Southern woman, a native of Mississippi, and entertained extensively in the 60's and early 70's. Her brother, Rev. Robert E. Kenna, S. J., was a prominent figure in California up to the time of his death in 1912. He was President of Santa Clara College, and it was through his efforts that the California Redwood Park in Big Basin, Santa Cruz County, was saved to the State. In recognition of this service he was appointed in 1911 one of the members of the first commission created to care for the park.

Charles A. Sullivan was educated at St. Mary's College when that institution was located on the Mission Road in San Francisco. He took great interest in athletics, being for many years a member of the Olympic Club; and at the time of his death he was in charge of the extensive real estate holdings to which he and his family succeeded.

He is survived by two brothers, Francis J. Sullivan and Emmet V. Sullivan, and five sisters, Misses Ada and Frances Sullivan, Mrs. Reginald White, Mrs. Stephen Loring Harris, and Mrs. Louis White.

DANIEL C. MURPHY.

